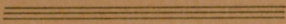


THE PROCEEDINGS OF
THE
SOUTH CAROLINA
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

1937



CONTENTS

The Seventh Annual Meeting - - - - -	2
The Work of Soldiers' Aid Societies in South Carolina during the Civil War - - - - -	3
JAMES WELCH PATTON	
The Thoroughbred in South Carolina - - - - -	13
W. H. MILLS	
The Nature and Volume of Exports from Charleston, 1724- 1774 - - - - -	25
CHARLES JOSEPH GAYLE	
The Migration of Loyalists from South Carolina - - - - -	34
ROBERT W. BARNWELL, JR.	
Reports on Loyalist Exiles from South Carolina, 1783 - - -	43
ROBERT W. BARNWELL, JR.	
Constitution - - - - -	47
Members of the Association - - - - -	48

OFFICERS OF THE ASSOCIATION, 1937

D. D. WALLACE - - - - - *President*
ARNEY R. CHILDS - - - - - *Vice-President*
FANNIE BELLE WHITE - - - - - *Secretary and Treasurer*

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

D. D. WALLACE - - - - - FANNIE BELLE WHITE
ARNEY R. CHILDS - - - - - CHARLES E. CAUTHEN

OFFICERS OF THE ASSOCIATION, 1938

F. DUDLEY JONES - - - - - *President*
JAMES W. PATTON - - - - - *Vice-President*
FANNIE BELLE WHITE - - - - - *Secretary and Treasurer*

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

F. DUDLEY JONES - - - - - FANNIE BELLE WHITE
JAMES W. PATTON - - - - - J. M. LESESNE
ARNEY R. CHILDS

The South Carolina Historical Association supplies *The Proceedings* to all its members; the Executive Committee elects the Editor. The price, to persons who are not members, is \$1.00 per copy. Orders should be sent to The South Carolina Historical Association, Columbia, S. C.

Copyright, 1937

by

The South Carolina Historical Association

THE PROCEEDINGS
of
THE SOUTH CAROLINA
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
1937

ROBERT L. MERIWETHER
Editor

COLUMBIA
THE SOUTH CAROLINA
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

1937

THE SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING

The South Carolina Historical Association convened for its seventh annual meeting in Columbia, April 10, 1937, all sessions being held in the Crystal Room of the Columbia Hotel.

The meeting was opened by President D. D. Wallace, at 11:30 A. M., and a paper entitled "Loyalist Migration from South Carolina" was then read by Mr. Robert W. Barnwell. Miss Susan King led the discussion of this paper and gave some interesting facts about the personalities of some of the Loyalists. Another paper, "Nature and Volume of Exports from Charleston, 1724-1774", written by Mr. Charles J. Gayle, in the absence of the writer, was read by Professor O. C. Skipper. In the discussion which followed Miss Nancy McIntosh added pertinent comments and interpretations.

At the afternoon session, which opened at 4 o'clock, Professor J. W. Patton read a paper, "Soldiers' Aid Societies in South Carolina during the Civil War". The discussion was led by Mrs. Boyd Nash; Professor C. E. Cauthen also contributed to the discussion.

During the business session which followed Dr. Anne King Gregorie, Director of the Historical Records Survey, showed a copy of a published inventory and announced that public records had been listed in forty counties; she invited the association to continue as the advisory committee during the coming year. Professor R. L. Meriwether announced that the University South Caroliniana Society, which was formed February 24, 1937, for the purpose of building up the South Carolina Collection of the University library and of keeping South Carolina's historical material in the state and making it available to students of history, would at all times be happy to join forces with other agencies in the state pledged to carry out the purposes indicated in Article II of the Constitution of the South Carolina Historical Association.

After the report of the Secretary and Treasurer, Mr. J. M. Lesesne gave the report of the Executive Committee. He submitted the following nominations for 1937-1938 and the Secretary was authorized to cast the ballot of the Association for them: President, Professor F. Dudley Jones; Vice-President, Professor J. W. Patton; Secretary and Treasurer, Miss Fannie Belle White; member of the Executive Committee, Mrs. A. R. Childs.

At the dinner session, which began at eight o'clock, Professor W. H. Mills addressed the Association on "The Thoroughbred in South Carolina".

About sixty members attended the morning and afternoon sessions. Thirty-five members were served at the dinner session.

F. B. W.

THE WORK OF SOLDIERS' AID SOCIETIES IN SOUTH CAROLINA
DURING THE CIVIL WAR

JAMES WELCH PATTON

Converse College

The enthusiastic zeal with which the women of the Confederacy exerted themselves in support of the Southern cause was one of the distinctive features that characterized the War for Southern Independence. Women aided in the creation of the Confederate armies by encouraging the willing and goading the reluctant among their relatives and acquaintances to enter the military service of the Southern states, and they had scarcely completed the painful duty of bidding the newly recruited regiments farewell when they were called upon to assume the endless task of supplying these soldiers with many of the material comforts and necessities required by the participants in modern warfare.

From the very outset of the conflict, it was evident that, in the face of an imperfect system of transportation, a relative lack of manufacturing industries, and the blockade which the Federal government would likely impose, the resources of the Confederacy would be inadequate to compete with the almost unlimited resources of the North, unless some means of counteracting this disparity between the two sections could be devised. Beginning with the spring and summer of 1861, therefore, thousands of women throughout the South devoted themselves to the labor of supplementing the supply of clothing, foodstuffs, flags, tents, gun cases, cartridges, medicines, bandages, and numerous other articles which the Confederate government was unable to provide in sufficient quantities for the use of its armies.

The energetic manner in which the Southern women undertook these difficult tasks is impressive. They labored over heavy tents, overcoats, jackets, and pants, knit socks and made shirts, provided food for passing soldiers, concocted medicines, scraped lint and prepared bandages, often toiling into the late hours of the night and until their delicate fingers were stiff, swollen, and bleeding from overwork. With her own labor supplemented by that of her slaves, one South Carolina woman supplied an entire company of soldiers with all of its necessities,¹ and another woman in the same state was able, through her own efforts, to provide a company with clothing made from wool that was grown, carded, spun, and woven on her

¹ Mrs. Thomas Taylor *et al.*, eds., *South Carolina Women in the Confederacy* (Columbia, 1903 and 1907), I. 196-197.

own plantation.² A North Carolina woman uniformed a whole company at her own expense and traveled about for the entire length of the war, attending to the wants of the sick and distressed and soliciting funds for relief work. Writing to Governor Vance in August, 1864, she estimated that she had collected goods and supplies to the value of half a million dollars.³

But essential as were the exertions of such individuals, it soon became apparent that more effective work could be accomplished through cooperative endeavor. Since the usual problem was that of equipping companies rather than single soldiers, collective activity afforded an opportunity for the pooling of resources and a division of labor. The inadequate number of spinning wheels, looms, and sewing machines could be more readily utilized to the limits of their capacities; funds and raw materials could be more easily solicited and collected from the government and other sources; and a more efficient distribution of the supplies would be facilitated. Likewise, a less tangible but equally important accompaniment of group activity was the evolution of an *esprit de corps* to a degree hitherto unknown among the women of the South, a development which furnished an obvious relief from the trials and heartaches occasioned by the war. Individual efforts were therefore supplanted to a considerable extent, during the early months of the conflict, by cooperative agencies known as soldiers' aid societies.

Such societies were formed in every section of the South. Usually beginning as informal gatherings of women who had come together for the purpose of manufacturing soldiers' supplies, they met in private homes, town halls, courthouses, churches, school houses, or wherever else a convenient place of assembly could be secured. Each society had an appropriate name, a constitution,⁴ formally elected officers, and written rules of procedure. Although clergymen and other male speakers were frequently invited to appear at the meetings, for such purposes as offering prayers, giving advice on matters that lay beyond the realm of feminine experience, or making patriotic addresses, the actual management and work of the associations were accomplished almost without exception through the efforts of the women themselves.

² Taylor, *South Carolina Women in the Confederacy*, I. 100.

³ Clyde Olin Fisher, "The Relief of Soldiers' Families in North Carolina During the Civil War", *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XVI (January, 1917). 71. See Francis B. Simkins and James W. Patton, *The Women of the Confederacy* (Richmond, 1936), pp. 19-21, for other examples of individual relief work.

⁴ For typical constitutions see those of the Ladies' Charleston Association—*Charleston Courier*, July 30, 1861—and the Bethany Hospital and Soldiers' Aid Association of Edgefield County—Taylor, *South Carolina Women in the Confederacy*, I. 67.

No accurate estimate of the number of these organizations formed in South Carolina has been made, but it is certain that their activities in this commonwealth were extensive. One hundred and twenty-four societies were listed in an account compiled by Mrs. Augustine T. Smythe, Miss Mary B. Poppenheim, and Mrs. Thomas Taylor,⁵ and a more thorough investigation would doubtless reveal the existence of many others. They were to be found in every portion of the state, from Georgetown to Pendleton and from Beaufort to Chesterfield.

The names adopted by the South Carolina societies were both varied and descriptive. Some were commonplace and unimaginative; others were distinctive and, in a few instances, picturesque. A list of titles selected at random might include such designations as: the Soldiers' Relief Association of Aiken, the Soldiers' Aid Society of Cheraw, the Young Ladies' Hospital Association of Columbia, the Auxiliary Soldiers' Relief Association of Summerville, the Sabbath School Relief Society of Spartanburg, the Knitting Society of Abbeville, the Lower Bridge Sewing Society, the Mountain Creek Home Guard Society, the States' Rights Society and the Palmetto Girls' Society of Charleston, the Rehoboth Aid Society of Edgefield, the Hospital Club of Anderson, the Lamont Association of Grahams, the Parnassus Aid Society of Marlboro, and the Wild Cat Ladies' Benevolent Association of Lancaster.⁶

The aims of these societies were almost entirely of a practical nature. "The object of this association", reads an excerpt from the constitution of the Soldiers' Relief Association of Charleston, "is to provide garments for our soldiers in the field, and hospital stores and other comforts for the sick and wounded."⁷ The Bethany Hospital and Soldiers' Aid Association of Edgefield County announced as its main purpose, "the immediate relief of the sick soldiers from our midst," and then the indiscriminate favoring "of all weary soldiers in our cause."⁸ The Hospital Aid Society of Spartanburg asserted its objectives as being, "to provide garments, hospital stores, and other comforts for our sick and wounded soldiers, and, secondly, to furnish underclothing, socks, and other articles needed for our soldiers in the field—these objects to be carried out by voluntary contributions of money, material, and labor."⁹

The various phases of the work accomplished by such organizations are most extensively illustrated in the achievements and experiences

⁵ Taylor, *South Carolina Women in the Confederacy*, I. 21-25; II. 91-92.

⁶ *Ibid.*, I. 21-25; II. 91-92.

⁷ *Ibid.*, I. 109.

⁸ *Ibid.*, I. 67.

⁹ *Ibid.*, II. 39.

of the Greenville Ladies' Association in Aid of the Volunteers of the Confederate Army, the original minutes of which have been preserved and are now deposited in the Library of Duke University.¹⁰ This society held its first meeting on July 19, 1861, and continued its labors without interruption until May 1, 1865, when a detachment of Stoneman's raiders, passing through upper South Carolina in pursuit of Jefferson Davis, plundered the association storeroom, and, as vividly recorded in the last paragraph of the minutes, stripped the place "of every article it contained, leaving the Society without the means of carrying on any further operations."¹¹

The objects of the Greenville association were stated as, "firstly, to relieve the sick and wounded among the soldiers, by forwarding to them linen, underclothing, cordials, bed ticks, socks, &c., &c., secondly, to make winter clothing for the Volunteers in the Confederate Army."¹² To this end, the members of the society cut out and made up uniforms and various other garments which, together with boxes of food and hospital stores, they dispatched to the front for the use of soldiers from the vicinity of Greenville. They contributed cloth, foodstuffs, medicines, and money from their own resources and solicited such supplies from others, sponsored lectures and other entertainments for the purpose of raising funds,¹³ fed and otherwise attended to the needs of passing soldiers, sent nurses to the battlefields, and in a few instances aided in burying the dead.

An examination of the lists of articles that were sent to the front by the members of this society affords the most concrete evidence of the substantial character of its activity. Between July 21 and December 14, 1861, for example, the association dispatched twenty boxes and three bales of supplies to the hospitals in Virginia and those on the South Carolina coast. Included in these shipments were: 280 shirts, 180 pairs of drawers, 160 pairs of socks, 14 dressing gowns, 4 pairs of pants, 1 vest, 1 scarf, 120 pocket handkerchiefs, 190 sheets, 5 counterpanes, 70 comforts, 10 bed ticks, 14 blankets, 2 quilts, 50 pillows, 165 pillow cases, 2 curtains, 144 towels, 12 pounds

¹⁰ These records, consisting of two bound volumes and several additional loose sheets, were preserved after the war by the vice-president of the association, Mrs. William Pinkney McBee. Upon her death in 1901, they passed into the possession of her daughter, Mrs. C. M. Landrum of Greenville, by whom they were presented to Duke University in 1936. At the request of Professor W. K. Boyd, the author of this article has recently undertaken and completed the task of preparing these minutes for publication in a forthcoming issue of the *Trinity College Historical Society Papers*.

¹¹ Minutes of the . . . Greenville Ladies' Association, MS, May, 1, 1865.

¹² *Ibid.*, July 19, 1861.

¹³ For example, a lecture by Paul Hamilton Hayne on June 30, 1864, the proceeds of which amounted to \$95.25, and a strawberry fête during the preceding month, at which \$3,361.25 (old issue currency) was raised.—*Ibid.*, May 30, June 20, and July 4, 1864.

of herbs, 15 pounds of tea, 21 pounds of spice, 80 pounds of sugar, 3 pounds of arrowroot, 8 pounds of hoarhound candy, 20 jars of jelly, 14 cans of fruit, 4 bottles of pickles, 16 bottles of tomatoes, 100 bottles of wine, cordial, and brandy, 25 pounds of soap, 24 tin spoons, 70 tin cups, 80 tin plates, 70 tin pans, 1½ bushels of apples, ½ bushel of sweet potatoes, 1 ham, 20 loaves of bread, 3 dozen eggs, 60 chickens, and a quantity of pins and needles, linen, Bibles, testaments, tracts, newspapers, magazines and books.¹⁴

Equally substantial achievements resulted from the efforts of other South Carolina societies. "The patriotic ladies of York," announced a local newspaper in August, 1861, "are up and doing their utmost in behalf of the sick and wounded soldiers. They have already forwarded a large and valuable box of hospital stores, and on Tuesday next they will have a *tableaux* in the Masonic Hall for the purpose of raising funds to procure necessary supplies of clothing, etc., for our soldiers during the coming winter."¹⁵ On September 20, 1861, Coffin and Pringle of Charleston, forwarding agents for the South Carolina Hospital Aid Association,¹⁶ acknowledged the receipt of: two boxes of supplies from the Ladies' Relief Association of Williston, eight boxes from the Soldiers' Relief Association of Providence Church, St. Matthews Parish, one box from the Ladies' Soldiers' Aid Society of Manning, one box from the Grahams Turn-Out Association, two boxes from Abbeville, and one bale of blankets from the ladies of All Saints Parish; also \$50.00 from the Ladies' Auxiliary Association of James Island, \$20.00 from Upper St. James, Goose Creek, and \$20.00 from St. Helena Church, Beaufort—the last named item being the proceeds derived from the sale of a bracelet contributed by a young woman.¹⁷ During the same month the Soldiers' Relief Association of Aiken made three shipments, which included: 60 pairs of drawers, 60 pairs of socks, 60 flannel shirts, and 60 cotton shirts, together with books, papers, and sundries, to the Aiken Allen Guards at Camp Pillow, Tennessee; 43 pairs of drawers, 60 pairs of socks, 61 flannel shirts, 71 cotton shirts, 19 pairs of pants, and 19 jackets to the Richardson Guards; and 84 pairs of

¹⁴ *Charleston Mercury*, Jan. 10, 1862.

¹⁵ *Yorkville Enquirer*, quoted in *Charleston Courier*, Aug. 20, 1861.

¹⁶ A semi-official organization formed in July, 1861, for the purpose of establishing hospitals for sick and wounded South Carolina troops in Virginia. Under the direction of the Rev. Robert W. Barnwell, a professor in the South Carolina College who resigned his position to undertake this work, the association established eight hospitals in 1861 and 1862. These hospitals depended upon the soldiers' aid societies in South Carolina for a large portion of their supplies. See *Report of the South Carolina Hospital Aid Association in Virginia, 1861-1862* (Richmond, 1862), reprinted in Taylor, *South Carolina Women in the Confederacy*, II. 93-120.

¹⁷ *Charleston Courier*, Sept. 20, 1861.

pants, 79 pairs of socks, 88 blankets, 5 comforts, and sundry other articles to General Bonham's Brigade at Flint Hill, Virginia.¹⁸

Typical illustrations of the work accomplished by the societies during the second and third years of the war are found in the experiences of the Charleston Soldiers' Relief Association, which received in donations between April 21 and July 21, 1862, 52 flannel shirts, 506 cotton shirts, 314 pairs of drawers, 384 pairs of socks, 33 handkerchiefs, 40 towels, 62 mattresses, 45 bed sacks, 8 pairs of pantaloons, 69 sheets, 71 pillows, 91 pillow cases, 38 fans, 5 dressing gowns, 91 mosquito nets, 10 pairs of slippers, 12 caps, 30 quilts, and 4 comforts, in addition to a large amount of wine, liquors, and hospital nourishment of all kinds;¹⁹ and in the exertions of the Spartanburg Sabbath School Relief Association, which sent to the front for the use of soldiers in May, 1863, 2 quilted comforts, 1 mattress, 16 shirts, 11 pairs of socks, 1 bushel of dried peaches, 1½ bushels of dried apples, 2 hams, 1 piece of dried beef, 2 bottles of blackberry wine, 2 bottles of catsup, 1 bottle of honey, 1 package of mint, and 24 dozen eggs, as well as a quantity of grits, meal, rye, barley, peas, bread, crackers, and rice.²⁰

Nor were the boxes sent during the closing months of the war less substantial in content. Included in a Christmas box packed by the women of Chesterfield in December, 1864, were hams, flour, fruit, butter, eggs, lard, preserves, cakes, biscuits, and meal.²¹ A box provided by the Summerville Ladies' Relief Association in January, 1865, contained 14 feather pillows, 9 pairs of socks, 1 gallon of whiskey, 1 gallon of vinegar, 1 peck of peas, 1 cake of suet, 2 fans, and a bundle of linen rags.²² Articles supplied by the Soldiers' Relief Association of Charleston at about the same time included: 286 cotton shirts, 233 flannel shirts, 267 pairs of drawers, 198 pairs of socks, 179 pairs of pants, 23 pairs of shoes and slippers, 19 comforts, 18 pairs of blankets, and 36 scarfs and handkerchiefs.²³

The preparation of these supplies required an enormous amount of labor. "The days and weeks were spent in working and toiling for the soldiers," wrote a South Carolina woman many years later; "far into the night our women would ply their needles, getting ready to send out the monthly boxes. . . . How you would sew for them

¹⁸ *Charleston Courier*, Oct. 12, 1861. See *ibid.*, July 30, Aug. 1, Aug. 10, Aug. 19, Aug. 23, and Nov. 22, 1861, and Mar. 6, 1862, for typical lists of contributions made by other South Carolina organizations during the first year of the war.

¹⁹ *Charleston Mercury*, July 21, 1862.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, May 21, 1863.

²¹ *Charleston Courier*, Jan. 3, 1865.

²² *Charleston Mercury*, Jan. 10, 1865.

²³ *Charleston Courier*, Feb. 20, 1865.

[the soldiers]! How you would knit for them, and how you, with your delicate white hands, would make the palmetto cockade for their caps, and how you would send them letters of love, sealed with your tears!"²⁴ In the minds of many women the emergency was so great as to be considered a justification for work on the Sabbath or during the suspense that obtained while great battles were in progress; and others were so intensely preoccupied with their duties that they were observed knitting while on visits and as they rode in carriages.

One of the greatest concerns of the women of South Carolina was to see that the hospitals, both large and small, had the necessities as well as the comforts which would aid in the alleviation of suffering. Under the more favorable circumstances this meant the supplementing of staples provided by the government with luxuries and delicacies from private kitchens; under unfavorable conditions, which frequently existed, it meant the supplying of staples as well as luxuries. In their efforts to achieve these objectives, women scoured the countryside for supplies; they deprived themselves of luxuries at their own tables; they established hospital kitchens; they solicited contributions of money and materials; and, in numerous other ways, ceaselessly strove to transform the resources at their disposal into objects of immediate use.²⁵

As in other sections of the war-time South, bazaars and fairs were extensively utilized by the women of South Carolina for the purpose of raising funds with which to procure hospital supplies. Probably the most elaborate bazaar in the whole history of the Confederacy was held in the hall of representatives in the old state house at Columbia in January, 1865. "To give a just description of this royal festival, with its delightful accessories," said the effusive account of a local newspaper, "would require a pen dipped in the hues of a thousand rainbows, or the power to catch the fantastic shapes that live in the changing pictures of a kaleidoscope."²⁶ For several weeks previous to the event, the women of the South Carolina capital, both residents and refugees, ransacked garrets and cellars, closets and trunks, in an effort to produce articles that might tempt the purses of the crowds which were anticipated. Contributions were levied on all sides; products of the needle and culinary arts were

²⁴ Mrs. Sylvester Bleckley, "The Women of the Piedmont", *The State* (Columbia), Mar. 7, 1906.

²⁵ The manufacture of substitutes for drugs and medicines was also an important phase of this activity. See Simkins and Patton, *The Women of the Confederacy*, pp. 138-139.

²⁶ *The South Carolinian* (Columbia), cited in *New York Herald*, Jan. 29, 1865.

brought forth; and gold subscribed by Confederate sympathizers in England was converted into curiosities, ornaments, and other objects that could not be secured in the blockaded South. From domestic sources came blankets, yards of calico and flannel, shoes, home-knit socks and stockings, shawls, silverware, dolls, cakes, bread, and even a live calf; from abroad came penknives, pins, hairpins, Parisian bonnets, ostrich plumes, sugar plums, almonds, and various other rarities. In front of the speaker's desk was placed a huge booth garlanded with evergreens and Spanish moss, and surmounted by a banner emblazoned in letters of gold with "A Tribute to Our Sick and Wounded Soldiers". On either side of this structure were semi-circles of other booths, each marked with the shield of one of the Confederate states and managed by representatives of these respective commonwealths. For days gay throngs crowded around the booths, nonchalantly paying fabulous prices for whatever articles that might strike their fancy, while both participants and visitors were astonished that so much finery and luxury could be gathered among a people whose resources were supposed to be so limited.²⁷

In addition to furnishing supplies, the soldiers' aid societies often sent members of their organizations to work in the hospitals of South Carolina and those established for South Carolina troops in other states. An entry in the minutes of the Greenville Aid Association in September, 1861, for example, makes mention of packing "two boxes for Mrs. Benson and Miss Ingram to take with them to Brentsville, Virginia . . . where both were to act in the capacity of nurses."²⁸ Among the most outstanding services of this sort performed in South Carolina were those of Louisa Susanna McCord, a daughter of Langdon Cheves and the widow of David J. McCord, a distinguished lawyer of Columbia. After serving as president of the Columbia Soldiers' Relief Association and the Ladies' Clothing Association, she resigned these duties in 1862 in order to give her whole time to the military hospital established in the buildings of the South Carolina College. In the midst of this activity there came the news that her son had been killed at Second Manassas, but her work continued "patient and cheerful and tender in its ministrations in the hospital; it was also capably executive. She managed the scheduling of the assistant nurses, planned the provisioning of the larder, that was often meager and largely dependent upon gratuitous contributions. She regulated the convalescents, she wrote letters

²⁷ Taylor, *South Carolina Women in the Confederacy*, I. 217-218, 243-247.

²⁸ Minutes of the . . . Greenville Ladies' Association, Sept. 12, 1861.

for them, talked with them, soothed the restless, gave Christian comfort to the dying.”²⁹

Although not actually connected with the soldiers' aid societies, the most skillful and devoted of all the South Carolina women who nursed disabled Confederates were doubtless the members of the various Roman Catholic sisterhoods. They constituted the only class of women in the state who were possessed of formal training in nursing and hospital management, and they worked among the sick and wounded in camp, in hospital, and on the battlefield with the calculated self-abnegation and efficiency that was traditional among such orders of holy women. Largely Northern or else foreign in origin, wearing habits strange to Protestant soldiers, and observing no distinctions of race or section in their ministrations, they were naturally received with suspicion at first; but when they proved by silent deeds that their only aim was to relieve suffering humanity, they won the confidence and admiration of both the soldiers and the people of the state generally. With thirty years of experience in the care of the sick behind them, the Sisters of Our Lady of Mercy in Charleston performed signal service in the hospitals of that city, especially in Roper Hospital, where between thirty and thirty-five of them were on duty. In answer to a plea from the Bishop of Richmond in 1861, they also sent members of their order to serve as nurses at White Sulphur Springs, Virginia, where they worked and suffered until the end of the war.³⁰

Another important feature of the work of the soldiers' aid societies was the organization and maintenance of wayside homes. These institutions were small hospitals or rest rooms which were established by women at various points in the Confederacy for the purpose of taking care of the numerous sick and wounded men who were dropped off or left stranded by the inefficient railway service. The first wayside home was established in Columbia in March, 1862, when a clergyman of that city called the attention of the Young Ladies' Hospital Association to the fact that there were many ill and needy men stranded at the local railroad station. These young women immediately equipped a room at the station which they called "The Soldiers' Rest." When this room became inadequate to accommodate the large number of soldiers who desired to make use of its facilities, the women of Columbia secured larger quarters, capable of housing one hundred men and feeding three hundred. At the same time, the services of older women and men ward masters and nurses were

²⁹ Jessie Melville Fraser, "Louisa C. McCord", *Bulletin of the University of South Carolina*, XCI (October, 1920). 35-36.

³⁰ Ellen Ryan Jolly, *Nuns of the Battlefield* (Province, R. I., 1927), pp. 287, 293.

called in to relieve the supposedly more sensitive young women of "the grim work to be done" and "the ghastly sights to be seen."³¹ The extent of the activities of these women is illustrated by Mrs. Thomas Taylor's account of their work during an emergency created by the arrival of a large number of men from a recently fought battle. This writer recalled seeing "Mrs. Bryce with a huge coffee pot in her hand, standing in the Wayside Kitchen; Mrs. Fisher, with a large spoon, stirring something on the stove; and the invaluable Dinah Collins, making up something and turning a portly figure and kindly face to one and any who spoke to her, and at the same time giving directions which kettle to get warm water from."³²

The wayside homes established at other places in the state had histories similar to the one in Columbia. At Anderson a committee of women met every afternoon train. "With pitchers of buttermilk, and a bottle of whiskey, we would go through the cars," wrote Mrs. Sylvester Bleckley, "and if any sick soldiers were on board we ministered to their wants."³³ The women of Chester were described in May, 1863, as "having now in full operation a comfortable Wayside Hospital for sick and wounded soldiers," which "would offer to any such a quiet rest, and refreshments, when they may be either going to or coming from the wearisome toils of the battlefield."³⁴ At Abbeville two women met each train that came in, and if there were soldiers on board too sick to go on they were cared for at the wayside hospital established there. If they were able to go on, a hack was furnished, often to Washington and Elberton, Georgia, distances of thirty and forty miles.³⁵

"Were it not for the exertions of the Southern women," wrote an observant English traveler in contemplating the work of the soldiers' relief societies, "the volunteers [of the Confederacy] would have been ill provided for."³⁶ Such a statement might also have been made of the soldiers' aid societies in South Carolina.

³¹ Mary Boykin Chesnut, *A Diary from Dixie* (New York, 1929), pp. 205-206; Francis W. Dawson, ed., *Our Women in the War* (Charleston, 1885), pp. 2-4.

³² Taylor, *South Carolina Women in the Confederacy*, I. 94.

³³ *Ibid.*, I. 364-365.

³⁴ *The South Carolinian*, May 17, 1863, quoted in *ibid.*, II. 9.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, I. 69.

³⁶ Samuel P. Day, *Down South; or an Englishman's Experiences at the Seat of the American War* (London, 1862), I. 127.

[Discussion of the articles in this number of THE PROCEEDINGS has been omitted for lack of space.]

THE THOROUGHBRED IN SOUTH CAROLINA

W. H. MILLS

Clemson College

It gives me real pleasure to speak to a South Carolina audience about the horses that your forefathers bred and rode and loved. No other subject seems to me to combine so much social, economic, political, and civic interest. It is not too much to say that the Thoroughbred made possible the South Carolina we have so greatly cherished. Quite as much as the men and women of the past, their horses were conspicuous for service in peace and in war. If there were great men and beautiful women in the earlier days, there were great horses and beautiful horses, thoroughbred from forelock to fetlock, every inch of them. Tonight, I speak their praise!

The agricultural, the juridical, the ecclesiastical systems of the South, particularly of South Carolina, were dependent on the saddle horse. The supervision of the plantation was impossible without him. The judge on the bench, the lawyer at the bar, rode horseback from court to court; ministers of every denomination were "circuit riders". Men and women rode to church and especially to communion service often many miles, with a little child on the pommel of the saddle and another child on a pad behind the cantle. Every one of them, planter, overseer, judge, minister, man or woman, wanted a saddle horse with comfortable and rapid gaits.

Our fathers developed such a horse in South Carolina from imported English Thoroughbreds, sometimes called "race horses" or "blood horses", crossing them on native American mares. I say "native American mares". Of course you know there were no horses in America when Columbus first reached its shores. They were soon brought here. Cabeza de Vaca is credited with bringing the first to Florida in 1527. "They were turned loose, and soon increased wonderfully."¹

The Spanish explorer, De Soto, started from Florida with some 223 mounted men.² It is most probable that some of these horses escaped at different times and places on the long march through Georgia and into South Carolina, then westward through Georgia and Alabama to the Mississippi River. These Spanish horses multiplied very rapidly in the new world. In Florida, they gave rise to

¹ John B. Irving, *The South Carolina Jockey Club* (hereinafter cited *SCJC*) (Charleston, 1857), Pt. II. p. 25.

² Lyman Carrier, *Beginnings of Agriculture in America* (New York, 1923), p. 109.

the Seminole Indian pony; among the Indians farther North and West, to the Cherokee, Chickasaw, and Choctaw horses. These came to be known popularly as "Chickasaw" horses.³

All the Indian horses in America were originally descendants of those brought into Spain from the Barbary States of North Africa by the Moors. They were closely kin to the Arab or Libyan horses—desert horses—small and fast, almost incomparable saddle horses. They are often called "Barbs" from their sometime home in Africa, and sometimes "Andalusians" from that province of Spain possessed by the Moors. All the original Indian ponies and the true wild horses of America in the far West thus have honorable lineage.⁴

A word just here, of the first effort to breed better horses in South Carolina—in 1682 in the *Account of the Province of Carolina*, Samuel Wilson said:

There have been imported into Carolina about an hundred and fifty Mares and some Horses, from New York and Rhoad Island, which breed well, and the coalts they have are finer limed and Headed than their Dams or Sires, which gives great hopes of an excellent breed of Horses, as soon as they have gotten good stallions amongst them.⁵

This importation of "Rhoad Island" horses continued for about fifty years until 1740. This horse, better known as the "Narragansett pacer", is said to have been a superb saddle horse for the road. He was a natural pacer and very fast, but not suited to the requirements of Carolina riders. At first we had no good roads, merely bridle paths, and our riding was done principally cross-country, on the plantation or in the hunting-field. Here, as in Virginia, the fast flat-footed walk, the running walk, the fox-trot, and the gallop, were the desirable slower gaits. From time to time top speed in hunting or in a cavalry charge was even more desirable. The pace, no matter how fast, is not as easy on the horse or rider as the gaits I have just named. Hence, pacing horses came to be discarded early in South Carolina, though they survived fifty years longer in some of the other colonies. The Indian pony, possibly deriving his gaits from his desert ancestors, furnished a more agreeable foundation stock for the saddle.

Ramsay, the historian, says of the cross of the Indian horse with the Thoroughbred "The mares in particular, when crossed with

³ *The John's Island Stud (South Carolina), 1750-1788* (hereinafter cited *JIS*) (Richmond, 1931), pp. 167-169; Mark Van Doren, ed., *The Travels of William Bartram* (reprint, 1928), p. 185; Samuel Cole Williams, *Adair's History of the American Indians* (reprint, Johnson City, 1930), p. 340 and note.

⁴ Van Doren, *Travels of William Bartram*, p. 185.

⁵ *JIS*, p. 159.

English blooded horses, produced colts of great beauty, strength and swiftness.' ”⁶

We need not be surprised that the Indian ponies should nick so well with the Thoroughbred, for the Thoroughbred himself derives from the same horse originally, the Arab or the Barb. The pedigrees of every Thoroughbred can be traced to one or another of three horses, (1) the Byerly Turk, (2) the Darley Arabian, or (3) the Godolphin Arabian. The Byerly Turk was the first of these three to come to England, about 1689, his owner, Captain Byerly, having ridden him as a charger in King William's Wars in Ireland. This seems to be all the history known of that horse. The Darley Arabian was bought from the Arabs by an English merchant, resident at Aleppo, who shipped him to England in 1703. The Godolphin Arabian was brought to England about 1725 as a four-year old—he is so called from his owner, Lord Godolphin. Every Thoroughbred to-day, whether on the turf or in the stud, traces to one or the other of these horses through the male line, and practically to the other two through the female line.⁷

The first Thoroughbred to come into South Carolina appears to have been imported by Governor Robert Johnson, about 1730 to 1735, the exact year being unknown.⁸ “The John's Island Stud” book calls this horse “the Carolina Pioneer” and “a gift to the province, intended to improve the native stock,” but the horse himself is unknown.

The first great importer and breeder of Thoroughbred horses in South Carolina was Edward Fenwick (1720-1775), the founder of the John's Island Stud. With John Carter (1696-1742) of Virginia, Benjamin Tasker, Jr. (1715-1760) of Maryland, and James De Lancey (1732-1800) of New York, Fenwick may justly be regarded as one of the “quartette of the Founders of the Turf in America.” Fenwick imported, first, BRUTUS, a grandson of the Godolphin Arabian in 1756. This horse he followed with other importations—in 1758 another stallion, in 1766 two stallions and two mares, in 1763 another stallion, in 1767 another stallion, and in 1773, a stallion MATCHLESS, “the last surviving son of the Godolphin Arabian”,

⁶ *JIS*, p. 168.

⁷ “The reign of William III is noteworthy as the era in which there appeared the first of three Eastern horses to which the modern Thoroughbred race-horse traces back as the founder of his lineage. This was the Byerly Turk. The second was the Darley Arabian. The third horse of the famous trio was the Godolphin Arabian or Barb. All the horses now on the turf or in the stud trace their ancestry in the direct male line to one or other of these three.” *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 11th ed., XIII. 179.

⁸ *JIS*, p. 57.

and two mares; in all eight stallions and six mares, all descended from the Godolphin Arabian.⁹

Other South Carolinians began to import Thoroughbred stallions about the same time. John Mayrant of St. James, Santee, brought over in the fall of 1760 a horse SKIM that came to be known on the Carolina turf as "the invincible Skim". Another importer was William Moultrie, afterwards General William Moultrie, who about 1761 imported STARLING. Ten years later he was still esteemed by competent judges as "the handsomest horse in the province."¹⁰

Many others came, till from the Santee River to Pocatigo, there were by 1770, stallions of the best English breeding in reach of all who wished to use them. Their fame as sires of fine and fast saddle horses out of the native mares spread throughout the state.

I think it very likely that when the Revolutionary War began there were more well-mounted men in South Carolina than in any other of the colonies. Certainly, no other colony had such fast native stock as we had in the Chickasaw or Cherokee horse. No other, so far as I know, had by 1776 imported so many Thoroughbred stallions.

Trevathan in his book, *The American Thoroughbred*, says that by the time the first difficulty with England occurred, the scientific breeding of the Thoroughbred had so progressed that in all the wealthy communities, from Charleston to Long Island, there were breeding establishments in which the very best type of horses for cavalry use could be found. These breeding establishments, whether in New York, Virginia, or South Carolina, had been for twenty-five or thirty years maintained by fresh importations and by crossing upon selected animals of native breed. This cross, Trevathan tells us, produced a race-horse of speed or a saddle horse of quality and endurance.¹¹

To the speed and endurance of these horses, Thoroughbreds and cross-breds, we owe the winning of the Revolution in South Carolina. They made possible and effective Marion's strategy in the Low Country. Logan, the historian of the Upper-Country of South Carolina, says:

At no day since the Revolution have there been so many Thoroughbred riding-horses in Upper-Carolina—horses whose mettle and prowess admirably adapted them to the heroic service of the spirited men who bestrode them.¹²

⁹ *JIS*, preface, p. 54.

¹⁰ *JIS*, pp. 179, 183-184.

¹¹ Trevathan, *The American Thoroughbred* (New York, 1905), pp. 5-6.

¹² John H. Logan, *A History of the Upper-Country of South Carolina* (vol. I., Charleston, 1859), pp. 153, 160 and note.

Without them the battle of King's Mountain would probably never have been fought. Think of that night ride of the 900 patriots in the cold and rain from Cowpens to the ford of Broad River, and on and on, till in the late afternoon they engaged Ferguson on the top of King's Mountain!¹³ You say "invincible men"; I repeat, "invincible horses".

The names of some of these Revolutionary horses have come down to us: LUCY, belonging to Daniel Ravenel of Wantoot; ROE-BUCK, the mare of Captain John James; the RED DOE, which was taken by a ruse from a British officer and after the war came into possession of Mr. Thomas Porcher of St. John's, Berkeley.¹⁴ Mr. Thomas P. White of Richmond Plantation has most courteously given me information concerning this mare and her descendants. Some of them are still living, and one, "Lady Berkeley" he pronounces "a beauty" and says "she won a blue (ribbon) at the Hot Springs, Virginia, Horse Show last year."¹⁵

Brooks in *Butler and His Cavalry* narrates the story of the notorious Bloody Bill Cunningham's escape from General William Butler after a desperate chase. Cunningham was mounted on "Silver Heels", a black mare with three white feet, and Butler on "Ranter", both probably Thoroughbreds or grade Thoroughbreds.¹⁶

The British tried to capture these horses in battle, or to find them when hidden in the swamps. Tarleton reported that in one raid in

¹³ Lyman C. Draper, *King's Mountain and Its Heroes* (Cincinnati, 1881), pp. 226-230.

LXXVIII

Nine hundred are they now by count,
The flow'r of all the patriot host,
Each man astride a choicest mount,
With weapon that he prizes most.
But one hour's halt, and to the trail
Betake they at redoubled speed;
Now near their prey they will not fail
To finish their most daring deed.

LXXIX

Throughout the night till morning's dawn
They forward press upon their way;
And now the sky with clouds o'erdrawn
A torrent pours to mar the day.
Yet no pretext for halt they make,
But drenched and chilled, they onward fly,
And cloaks they off their bodies take
To keep their precious flintlocks dry.

—Hugh Carpenter,

King's Mountain, an Epic of the Revolution (Knoxville, 1936), pp. 56-57.

¹⁴ S.C.J.C., Pt. III. pp. 45-48.

¹⁵ Letter to writer, January, 1937.

¹⁶ U. R. Brooks, *Butler and His Cavalry, 1861-1865* (Columbia, 1909), p. 40.

April, 1780, "he captured at Monck's Corner, no less than '400 horses belonging to [General Isaac Huger's] officers and dragoons, with their arms and appointments' and it was then admitted by the Whigs that Tarleton had got in one net most of the blood horses in the State."¹⁷ Some Thoroughbreds were sent for safety into North Carolina, some into Virginia, which, after the Revolution ended, were brought back into South Carolina.

Acquaintance with Virginia-bred horses and their owners had been long established, as this extract fully shows:

Soon after 1750 there were established in the High Hills of Santee several emigrants from New Kent County, Virginia. Among these newcomers were Richard Richardson, John Singleton, and his son Matthew, all horsemen and progenitors of horsemen; destined also to be distinguished revolutionary soldiers and to breed post-revolutionary governors. It was this group which brought to Carolina some interesting Virginia horses.¹⁸

One of these emigrants, William Richardson, died in 1786 and his stable was offered for sale. This advertisement appeared in the *South Carolina State Gazette*, October 12, of that year in these words—in part:

PUBLIC AUCTION

on Thursday,

The 23d of November next,

At the Plantation of the late William Richardson, Esq., at the High Hills of Santee,

WILL BE SOLD

To the highest bidder,

For prime Copper or purple Indigo, to be delivered in Charleston in twelve months from the date of the sale, with interest payable in like manner, and approved security,

43 Valuable high blooded

MARES, COLTS, AND FILLIES,

Of the first rate Pedigrees in the State

Among which are fourteen Brood Mares, several of which were purchased in Virginia, and got by the noted horses Fearnought, Shadow, Lofty and Centinel, seven two-years old, six three-years old, and six four-years old, by Fearnought, Shadow and Centinel

This sale dispersed some of the very best Virginia Thoroughbred blood, probably rather widely in South Carolina. This advertisement which is copied from Irving indicates the extensive scale of breeding—43 mares, colts, and fillies—and the lack of acceptable currency since payments were to be made in indigo.¹⁹

¹⁷ *JIS*, p. 176.

¹⁸ *JIS*, p. 172.

¹⁹ *SCJC*, p. 160.

Two years later, Edward Fenwick, Jr., advertised his stable for sale, saying that "the dams of the mares were brought from England by the late Edward Fenwick (his father) and are as high bred as any mares ever imported into America."²⁰ Among the buyers at this sale was Colonel William Alston of Waccamaw. He had "for many years," Irving says, "the most extensive stud of all his contemporaries in South Carolina." One of Colonel Alston's favorite and most successful horses was the young stallion GALLATIN which he purchased in Richmond, Virginia, in 1802 as a three-year old from Colonel John Tayloe, after seeing him run the fastest mile that had been up to that time ever run in the United States. Colonel Alston gave \$4,000 for him, and always considered him the cheapest horse he ever owned. Colonel Alston dispersed his stable in 1807 and among the principal purchasers were Richard Singelton, and J. B. Richardson of the families already mentioned, and General Wade Hampton.²¹

The next fifty years may be briefly described as the "Golden Age" of the Thoroughbred in South Carolina. In those brave days of old "the gentlemen of the Turf," says Irving, "never ran their horses for the *pecuniary value* of the prize to be won, but solely for the *honor* that a horse of their own breeding and training should distinguish himself. . . . The prize used to be, not a purse of gold or silver, but "*a piece of plate*".²² The greatest social event of the year was Race-week in Charleston, usually in February, when under the auspices of the South Carolina Jockey Club, owners of Thoroughbreds from Virginia to Georgia, gathered to match their horses in races of two, three, and four-mile heats.

Racing meets were also held annually at St. Matthews, Pendleton, Greenville, Newberry, Laurens, Union, Barnwell, Beaufort, Camden, Columbia, Orangeburg, Georgetown, Cherokee Ponds, Limestone Springs, York, Fulton, Deadfall, Strawberry, Pineville, and probably at other places.²³

Up-country, low-country, middle-country, all South Carolina in truth, showed genuine appreciation of the Thoroughbred's worth and beauty. The first Jockey Club at Columbia was formed in 1828. The Pineville meeting was purely one of pleasure divested of every attraction for the mere business men of the Turf, and many worthy old gentlemen, surrounded by their descendants of the second generation, came out to have a day's enjoyment who never bet a cent. The Club there was known as "The Santee Jockey Club," and had almost a hundred members.

²⁰ *JIS*, p. 98.

²¹ *SCJC*, pt. VII. pp. 163-165.

²² *SCJC*, Pt. IV. pp. 11-12.

²³ *SCJC*, Pt. VI. p. 157.

Within recent months there has been organized almost in the same community, the St. John's Berkeley Jockey Club, and its secretary, Mr. W. H. Sinkler, Jr., writes from Eutawville a letter dated December 12, 1936, in which he says, "There are some brood mares and colts in the neighborhood and some of the horses that ran in the race meet here [in the autumn of 1936] are registered in the Stud Book."

The endurance of these old-time riders and their horses seems to us, who live softer lives, incredible. Wells in his book *Hampton and His Cavalry*,²⁴ tells this story of Colonel Wade Hampton (son of the first General Wade and father of the second General Wade: that he was sent as the bearer of dispatches to the President announcing the glad news of the victory at New Orleans in 1815; that with a mounted Negro servant and a led horse, he performed the journey of 750 miles from New Orleans to Columbia in 10½ days, averaging 72 miles a day, including a day when owing to swollen streams only 7 miles were made. For 300 miles, nearly half the distance, it was necessary to carry food for both themselves and their three horses; that Colonel Hampton rode the same horse all the way, and that it was not one of his own Thoroughbreds, but one picked up by his father a year or two before from a cattle drover whom he met on the road and to whom he swapped the horse he was riding which he valued at \$500.00.

Colonel Wade Hampton was perhaps the most extensive breeder of Thoroughbred horses we have ever had in South Carolina. He imported six stallions and eighteen mares from England. One of his most celebrated horses was the imported stallion MONARCH. At the South Carolina Jockey Club races, in Charleston on Wednesday, February 20, 1839, Monarch won both heats, each four miles, for the Jockey Club Purse of \$1,000.00. On Saturday of that same week, he was sent in again and after galloping three miles, he ran the fourth mile in 1 min. 48 sec., carrying nine pounds extra weight, Colonel Hampton was offered \$20,000.00 for him and refused to sell. The next year, 1840, while he was being exercised on Colonel Hampton's private course near Columbia, he struck some hard substance and suffered permanent injury in his right foreleg.²⁵ Colonel Hampton then sent him to Kentucky but soon brought him back when he was permanently retired to the stud, at \$60.00 for the season, thus "bringing this very superior horse within the means of every breeder, in and out of the State, who may have owned a well-bred mare." "We speak of this," says Irving, "not so much to vaunt the act as

²⁴ Edward L. Wells, *Hampton and His Cavalry in '64* (Richmond, 1899), pp. 21-22.

²⁵ *SCJC*, Pt. IV. p. 78.

one of liberality to his neighbors as one calculated to do essential benefit to the future stock of the country.”²⁶

In the fifties, I think it may be said that the Thoroughbred blood was diffused quite generally throughout the State. Many people owned Thoroughbreds who never thought of racing them. They were kept as saddle horses, as carriage horses, and as the sires of saddle and carriage horses out of half and quarter blood mares. As such, they were found on almost every plantation. The larger breeding establishments were always in the low country, but the up-country from Pendleton to Edgefield, to Newberry to York, had a Thoroughbred stallion in almost every neighborhood. One has but to read the premium lists of the fairs of the Agricultural Societies in the 1840's and 1850's to be convinced of the truth of this statement.²⁷ For example, at the Fair of the Pendleton Farmers' Society, October 13, 1854, its committee “awarded the premium on stallions to LOGAN, raised by Captain John Maxwell, sired by TRANQUIL out of the celebrated race mare OMEGA. LOGAN, five years old, is 15 hands high, rather thin and spare made, but of beautiful symmetry and form, and of a color known as ‘iron gray’. His form and action (are) such as might entitle him to a premium as a race-horse among a dozen selected throughout this country.”²⁸ TRANQUIL was by imported TRANLY and OMEGA was a daughter of SIR ARCHY, one of the greatest of all the Virginia sires. She was sister to BOSTON, the sire of the renowned LEXINGTON. In 1858, fourteen premiums on Thoroughbreds were paid by the State Agricultural Society, going to eight different exhibitors living in Richland, Newberry, Union, Edgefield and Spartanburg.

These horses were the single agency and vehicle of communication. They did what the railroad, the automobile, even more—the telegraph and telephone—do today. In the heat of summer, in the cold of winter, they galloped the roads, or drew the gigs and carriages with the same messages of love or hate, of hope and fear, of life and death, as electricity carries today. I repeat, they made possible our civilization and culture.

In 1861, came Secession and Civil War. Men who had been inured to the saddle turned naturally to cavalry service and it is not at all surprising that South Carolina raised seven regiments of cavalry, besides the Hampton Legion; nor is it surprising that the Colonel of the Legion, Wade Hampton, son of the largest breeder of blood horses in the State, and himself a magnificent horseman, should be-

²⁶ SCJC, Pt. VI. p. 181.

²⁷ *Transactions of the State Agricultural Society of South Carolina for 1858* (Columbia, 1859), pp. 30-32; . . . *for 1859* (Columbia, 1860), pp. 34-35.

²⁸ Minute book, MS, Pendleton Farmers Society.

come lieutenant-general of cavalry; and M. C. Butler, the grandson of William Butler, a major-general of cavalry.

You can read the narratives of their operations in *Hampton and His Cavalry* by Wells and *Butler and His Cavalry* by U. R. Brooks.²⁹ Many of the exploits are thrilling indeed, possible only to the bravest of men, mounted on the best of horses. These horses were the plantation-saddle horses which their riders had obtained from home, for you know that every Confederate cavalryman furnished his own horse. But the best book that I have seen to show the part the South Carolina cavalry took in the war is the *Autobiography of Arab* by E. Prioleau Henderson, published in 1901 by The R. L. Bryan Company of Columbia. Unfortunately, it is out of print and become already quite rare.

It is the story of a horse that saw service from the beginning to the end of the war, told for him and of him by his owner and rider. Mr. Henderson enlisted as a corporal in the Beaufort District Troop, a company in the Hampton Legion, and became one of the most efficient scouts in the whole Army of Northern Virginia. This *Autobiography of Arab* is strictly speaking, not a literary gem as to its English composition, though the style is clear and grammatical. But it is much more than a literary gem—it is the precious record of a South Carolina soldier's love for his horse. As such, it deserves a place in the library of every Carolinian who, for his father's sake, loves a good horse and honors the Confederacy. Arab was three-quarter Thoroughbred. His sire was from the famous Bonaparte stock of South Carolina and Virginia, and his mother was a mare, named Pocahontas, noted throughout Beaufort district as a saddle horse of great sagacity, speed, and endurance. Arab acquired wide renown as a runner and jumper, both at the high and at the broad jump, but most of all, for his very remarkable endurance. Let me read two testimonials to him: the first from General Butler, the other from General Hampton. Says General Butler in a letter to Mr. Henderson:³⁰

I remember the horse perfectly, and if you tell, in your "Biography" of this remarkable animal, the one-half of what he saw and did, with you as his rider and constant companion, the world would be incredulous—and yet it would be true. . . . The history of this remarkable animal would be a history of your troop, as I believe you rode him with the troop from the beginning to the end of the war. I can conscientiously say that until you were separated from my command, both rider and horse met promptly and gallantly every requirement of duty, and no doubt maintained this character to the end. . . .

²⁹ Brooks, *Butler and His Cavalry*, p. 40.

³⁰ *Autobiography of Arab*, pp. 3-5.

General Hampton writes:

Columbia, S. C., May 22, 1901.

My dear Henderson:

If your good little horse Arab does give an "Autobiography", he will surely deserve an equestrian statue—for he saw more of the war between the North and the South, I am sure, than any other living horse! I remember him well, and when I last saw him, he—like his master—was active in the memorable political campaign of '76 in our State. I am glad that his gallant deeds are to be placed on record, for he served his native State long and faithfully.

I am yours very truly,

WADE HAMPTON.

His story ends with these words:

Now I am getting old, and I feel that I have not got much longer to stay in this beautiful world. But I am ready to go at any time, feeling and knowing that I have done my duty in and under all circumstances. A short time ago I had a delightful visit from my master. He told me he was getting on well and that my mistress and all the children sent their best and sincerest love for dear old Arab; and that though absent, I was not forgotten, either by him or the loving wife and children—for he married years ago, and has a beautiful, good wife, and I have a kind, loving mistress. I told him the day he was to leave for Savannah, that I felt impressed I would never see him again in this life; and that when I died I wished to be buried on the hill beyond the old ginhouse. He promised it should be done, exactly as I desired. And putting both arms around my neck, kissed me good-bye, as in days of yore—and it was truly, forever and forever.

Mr. Henderson added this postscript:

Arab died when he was twenty-seven years old, and was decently buried on the hill beyond the old ginhouse, on the old plantation, where he was foaled and raised. Peace to your ashes, noble horse. Your like will never be raised in Colleton County again. You loved me, and I loved and had implicit faith in you. How much so, will never be known by mortal man.

Arab's owner and his fellow-soldiers returned to their homes in 1865 to find them "a desolation and a waste." Hundreds of their best horses were dead on the battlefields of Virginia, hundreds more had been carried off by Federal raiding parties, and other hundreds impressed into Confederate service. The plantation economy of the South, as based on slavery, was shattered forever and with it went both the necessity for keeping a stable of Thoroughbreds and the financial ability to maintain it. Men who had owned and ridden the finest horses were reduced to riding mules or "marsh tackeys".

In 1871 the same number of classes for premiums was open to blood horses at the State Fair as in 1858—fourteen; but by 1890, there were only nine classes, six in 1905, and two in 1906. For some years past no premiums for horses have been offered at the State Fair.

The railroad and poverty had about completed their work. The Thoroughbred horse in South Carolina had become history—a creature of the past. He perished with the civilization of which he had been a large part, as much out-of-date as the flint-lock rifle and the spinning wheel. For a little while there was some revival of interest in good driving horses, and Standard-bred trotters came into fashion. But the automobile and the cement road eliminated them, too, completely from general use. A few of our wealthier people are keeping American-bred saddle horses, which, however stylish and flashy they may be, lack the endurance of the old Thoroughbred and his sons and daughters. So far as I have been able to discover there is but one Thoroughbred stallion and perhaps half a dozen mares in the whole State.

A final word—"The first South Carolina Jockey Club was organized in Charleston in 1758, and it lasted into 1773. The second South Carolina Jockey Club dates from 1783 to 1788, the third from 1788 to 1791. The fourth South Carolina Jockey Club was organized in 1791, and it had a long and honorable career, more than a century. On December 29, 1899, the following resolutions were passed: ³¹

Whereas, The prospect of restoring the amusement of horse racing on a respectable and financially safe footing has been proved to be hopeless, and the South Carolina Jockey Club finds itself the owner of property which can no longer be utilized for the purpose for which the Club was formed.

Resolved that the remaining property and assets of the South Carolina Jockey Club after paying or providing for the payment, of all and every of the debts, and liabilities of the Club, shall be conveyed by the Club to Trustees as an endowment to be known as the South Carolina Jockey Club Endowment, to and for the use of the Charleston Library Society of Charleston, S. C., in fee simple and perpetuity. . . .

Resolved that upon the completion of such transfer the Charter of the South Carolina Jockey Club shall be surrendered and the Club dissolved."

So passed away the glory of a noble horse, his daring rider, and their glamorous civilization.

³¹ *JIS*, pp. 154-155.

THE NATURE AND VOLUME OF EXPORTS FROM CHARLESTON
1724-1774

CHARLES JOSEPH GAYLE

The great majority of historical writings concerning South Carolina give some statistical data concerning the exports of the colony, but in most cases, the information covers only a short period of time and is concerned with a few of the more important products. This investigation has been undertaken to fill in the existing gaps and to shed some light on the exports of the great number of less important commodities which seldom receive any mention at all. A lack of material concerning the commerce of the colony before 1724 resulted in that date being chosen as a starting point. The year 1774 marks the beginning of the American Revolution and thus presents a logical point at which to stop.

From export figures contained in the *South Carolina Gazette* and the *South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal*, which were the principal sources used, an appendix containing export data has been prepared.¹ The writer has, however, undertaken to comment on the exports of some of the more important commodities. Rice, which, as is pointed out in the *Journal of Economic and Business History*, makes up throughout almost the entire period, from one-half to two-thirds of the total value of local products exported from the colony, has been the object of most of the comment.²

Any study of the economic history of colonial South Carolina must concern itself to a great extent with the production and exportation of rice, for it was in the culture of this commodity that a large part of the productive agencies of the province were employed, and it was in its exportation that the major portion of the shipping of the colony was engaged. It was principally through the exportation of rice that Charleston was brought into contact with the ports of the world. A comparison of Tables I and II will reveal that almost all of the ports to which vessels cleared out of Charleston are ports to which rice was exported.

¹ The *South Carolina Gazette* which began publication in 1732 is the source of most of the material until 1764, as it printed during that period a fairly regular list of "Charleston Exports". Export data was not available for the years 1765 and 1766, but from 1767 on, *The South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal* printed very full lists which, while they do not as a rule cover the whole year, represent a sufficient part of each year to make the data valuable. Both of these newspapers are in the collection of the Charleston Library Society.

² F. B. Taylor, "Wholesale Commodity Prices at Charleston S. C.", *Journal of Economic and Business History*, IV. 355-377.

TABLE I

Ships clearing outward from Charleston, Nov. 1, 1734-Nov. 1, 1735.³

Antigua 4	Harbour Is... 1	New Providence 30	Rhode Island... 3
Bristol19	Jamaica 6	St. Augustine...13	Southampton .. 2
Boston 9	London48	New York..... 7	St. Chris..... 2
Barbadoes .. 7	Liverpoole .. 2	Opporto 7	Topsham 5
Cowes 8	Lisbon23	Philadelphia ...11	Winyaw10
Cadiz 1	Maryland ... 4	Poole 3	Figuera 2
Curaçao 2	Moville 2	Plymouth 1	Gibraltar 1
Dover 3	N. Carolina 15	Port Royal..... 3	

TABLE II

Number of barrels of rice exported from Charleston from Oct. 31, 1767, to June 6, 1768, inclusive, and ports of destination.⁴

Antigua	3,549	Honduras	30
Augustine	165	Jamaica	3,581
Bristol	4,390	London	13,710
Barcelona	1,666	Lisbon	14,745
Barbadoes	1,435	Liverpool	1,829
Boston	743	Leith	1,107½
Bermuda	37	Monserat	258½
Cowes	34,401½	Monte Christo.....	57½
Cadiz	668½	New York.....	367
St. Christopher.....	2,339	Nevis	226½
St. Croix.....	292	Oporto	6,220
Dominica	1,187½	Poole	1,653½
Dunbar	606	Providence	63
Georgia	123	Pensacola	121
East Florida.....	40	Philadelphia	1,905
St. Eustatius	2,236	Quebec	606½
Figuera	1,400	Rhode Island.....	263
Gosport	5,698½	Salem	4
Guadeloupe	24½	Topsham	397
Grenada	228	Veana	448½
Greenock	28	Vigo	1,161
Haverford-West	494½	Whitby	106
TOTAL			109,070½

The ships employed in the European trade ranged from 200 to 500 tons burden, although a 500-ton vessel was considered a very large ship. The great majority of vessels carried from 1,000 to 1,200 barrels of rice.⁵ During the twelve months preceding March 15, 1765, there sailed from Charleston, Beaufort and Georgetown, a

³ *South Carolina Gazette*, Nov. 8, 1735.

⁴ *South Carolina Gazette*, Oct. 31, 1767.

⁵ Leila Sellers, *Charleston Business on the Eve of the Revolution* (Chapel Hill, 1934), p. 64.

total of 424 vessels, carrying, among other things, 111,310 barrels of rice.⁶ Thus it becomes apparent that approximately one-fourth of the total capacity of the vessels clearing was taken up with the exportation of rice.

In this connection it is interesting to note that December 12, 1774, the *South Carolina Gazette* published the fact that of that year's crop of indigo 216,586 lbs. had been exported in the ship *Carolina Packet* and 165,785 lbs. in the ship *Britannia*. Indigo exports for that year amounted to 599,115 lbs.⁷ Thus, somewhat over sixty per cent. of the entire amount of indigo exported during that year was shipped in two vessels, and four vessels of similar size would have been more than sufficient to handle the entire crop. In the same year, the exportation of the rice crop would have required the use of a hundred or more vessels if their cargoes had been of rice alone. The transporting of the goods of the provinces was a highly lucrative source of income to the shippers of Great Britain as may be judged by the fact that the cost of carrying rice across the sea was so great as to make its price in England practically double what it was in the Charleston market. (See Table III.) Yet it was for indigo not rice that the planters of the colony received a high bounty.

TABLE III

Ships outward bound from Charleston⁸

December 25, 1745—December 25, 1746.

No. of Vessels	Destination	Tonnage	Rate	Amount of Freight
86	Europe	10,555	6 10	68,607 10
121	West Indies.....	4,018	4 10	18,081 00
48	Northern Colonies.....	1,720	3 10	6,020 00

December 25, 1746—December 25, 1747.

105	Europe	12,724	6 10	82,628
93	West Indies.....	4,712	4 10	21,207
37	Northern Colonies.....	1,322	3 10	4,662

December 25, 1747—December 25, 1748.

68	Europe	8,465	6 00	50,790
87	West Indies.....	4,299	4 00	16,196
37	Northern Colonies.....	1,189	3 00	3,567

Table IV indicates the distribution of rice exports over a typical year. There was but one crop of rice produced each year, and as is

⁶ Edward McCrady, *A History of South Carolina under Royal Government* (New York, 1899), p. 389.

⁷ See Appendix.

⁸ B. R. Carroll, *Historical Collections of South Carolina* (2 vols., New York, 1836), II. 226.

pointed out in a contemporary work it was reaped during the month of September and the first week of October.⁹

TABLE IV

Rice exports, Nov. 1, 1772—Nov. 1, 1773¹⁰

November	4,268 Barrels	May	16,845 Barrels
December	10,062 "	June	5,865 "
January	20,611 "	July	3,134 "
February	20,247 "	August	4,536 "
March	12,923 "	September	3,062 "
April	17,344 "	October	1,698 "

Analysis of a graph made from Table A in the Appendix to this article reveals three lesser trends in the exports of rice during the period 1724-1774, the first covering the period 1724-1740, the second covering the period 1740-1753, and the last extending from 1753-1764. The first period is marked by an unbroken rise during the first five years, then an eight year period of minor fluctuations, and finally a tremendous upswing during the last two years. The second period is marked by more pronounced fluctuations, and by a tendency of the curve to move in a downward direction. During the final period the trend is again upward and the fluctuations even more violent. From the analysis, there may be drawn a number of conclusions. First, rice exports over the whole period under consideration exhibited a tendency to rise. Second, there were comparatively long periods during the period as a whole which exhibited independent tendencies. Third, there were variations from year to year and these variations become progressively more accentuated. The year to year variations in the volume of rice exports may be attributed to some extent to local causes. For instance, the hurricane of 1752 which destroyed much of the crops and most of the shipping in the harbor may be held responsible at least in part for the low level which rice exports reached in the following year.¹¹ On the other hand, phenomenal crop years such as that of 1768-1769 are reflected in a rise in exports. An explanation of each of the rises and falls in the volume of rice exports would require not only a study of the local occurrences which might have affected it, but would also involve prices, which were in turn affected by conditions in Europe. The present writer has, therefore, concerned himself with merely pointing out the characteristics which are exhibited by the graph. The lesser trends noted in the graph appear to be cyclical in nature and probably

⁹ John Oldmixon, *The British Empire in America* (2 vols., London, 1708), I. 519.

¹⁰ *South Carolina Gazette*, Nov. 22, 1773.

¹¹ See Carroll, *Historical Collections*, I. 417.

have deeper economic bases, the explanation of which would be even more difficult and would require too much space to be attempted here.

Indigo, which became an article of export in 1747, rose rapidly to a second position and for a short time, July 1756 to July 1758, the value of indigo exports was greater than that of rice. This phenomenal growth may be attributed directly to a bounty of six-pence per pound which was placed upon the production of the commodity in 1748 by the British government and the bounty given by South Carolina during the two years previous. It was at this time that indigo was placed upon the list of enumerated articles. It has also been pointed out that the production of indigo was stimulated by the ruinously low prices which rice was bringing in 1745 and 1746.¹²

Although tar, pitch and turpentine constituted less than five per cent. of the total value of all exports, their great bulk caused them to assume a position of relatively high importance in the maritime trade of the colony. The 23,000 barrels of naval stores exported in 1746, although of comparatively small value, assumed large physical proportions and constituted a large part of the cargoes of the vessels employed in the trade of the province. These commodities were of such importance that statistical data concerning their exports was included in the newspapers in every instance in which export figures were given. The trend in the exports of all three was slightly downward.

The South Carolina Gazette in 1764 listed cotton as one of the items exported, there being 85 pounds shipped that year. No further listings of the exportation of this commodity appear, however, after this date. Tobacco, which was also to attain an important position in the business life of the section, first appeared as an item of export in 1769 and continued to be listed in increasing quantities throughout the remainder of the period. The export data also contain listings of a great number of what might now be considered unusual articles. Horses, cow horns, cow tails, myrtle root, pink root, snake root, ships bread and other items were exported in varying quantities. It is both surprising and interesting to note that oranges, produced in South Carolina, were exported in fairly large quantities.

In general, the period, 1724-1774, witnessed a constant increase in the volume of exports. While it is true that some commodities, such as deer skins,¹³ tended to decline in importance, others to re-

¹² Taylor, "Commodity Prices at Charleston", pp. 359, 363; Sellers, *Charleston Business*, p. 162.

¹³ Tables of exports of deer skins are given in Verner W. Crane, *The Southern Frontier 1670-1732* (Durham, 1934), and have been omitted from this study.

main at an almost constant level, and yet others to exhibit a rise, so that it cannot be said that growth in the volume of exports was characteristic of all commodities, yet the frequent introduction of new items to the lists of commodities exported plus gains made by some of the older items was sufficient to give rise to a general upward trend. In regard to the appendix, it should be borne in mind that the absence of a figure for any particular commodity in any year does not necessarily indicate that there was none of that commodity exported during that year. With the exception of the year 1735, the newspapers consulted gave information concerning only rice, tar, pitch and turpentine from 1724 until 1744, when the listings became progressively more complete.

APPENDIX

TABLE A

Rice Exported from Charleston, 1725-1775

Year	Barrels	Bags	Year	Barrels	Half- Barrels	Bags	Pun- Butts cheons
1725	17,734		1750(10)*	47,593	837	525	
1726	23,031		1751	60,682	1,681	223	
1727	26,884		1752	77,002	2,265	186	
1728	29,965		1753	35,122	802		
1729	32,384		1754	87,101	2,938		
1730	41,722		1755	104,682			
1731	39,487		1756(9)*	68,063	3,554	579	11
1732	37,068		1757(10)*	53,078	3,563	579	38
1733	50,726		1758				
1734	39,325		1759	50,169	3,098		
1735	45,317	1,038	1760	58,584	4,411	44	
1736	52,349	1,554	1761	97,613	7,493	74	
1737	42,619	519	1762	75,503	8,297		
1738	34,324		1763(10)*	96,866	8,387		
1739	67,117		1764	91,960			
1740	91,110		1765				
1741	79,991	2,137	1766				
1742	46,196		1767(10)*	98,086			
1743	73,416		1768(11)*	118,279			
1744	80,778		1769	121,660			
1745	59,627		1770	129,967			
1746	54,101		1771	130,784			
1747	54,146		1772(7)*	93,532			
1748	55,000		1773(7)*	105,209			
1749	41,034		1774(4)*	41,647			

*The figures in parenthesis indicate the number of months covered by the export figure in incomplete years. Unless so noted, the years run from Nov. 1 to Nov. 1. The puncheon was a large cask of varying capacity.

TABLE B

Tar, Pitch and Turpentine Exported from Charleston, 1725-1774

Year	Pitch Barrels	Tar Barrels	Tur- pentine Barrels	Year	Pitch Barrels	Tar Barrels	Tur- pentine Barrels	Tar (Green) Barrels
1725	57,422	2,333	133	1751	11,441	5,070	1,401	
1726	29,776	8,322	715	1752	20,483	2,651	6,271	
1727	13,654	10,950	1,252	1753	15,220	6,008	6,496	
1728	3,186	2,269	1,232	1754	11,025	2,295	5,375	369
1729	8,377	3,441	1,913	1755	5,869	2,596	2,171	547
1730	10,825	2,014	1,073	1756 (10)	3,058	2,711	1,195	1,070
1731	9,385	1,725	1,560	1757 (10)	4,962	2,115	337	397
1732	32,593	4,575	2,466	1758-59				
1733	18,165	6,604	2,212	1760	5,754	886	2,420	97
1734	28,874	7,336	4,552	1761 (11)	6,626	1,438	4,874	
1735	24,036	5,636	8,061	1762	6,315	1,244	1,438	289
1736	11,736	1,491	5,193	1763 (11)	6,087	1,265	3,042	411
1737	11,987	8,501	4,411	1764	7,459	3,093	1,643	65
1738	16,088	5,417	845	1765				
1739	7,890	2,722	33	1766				
1740	11,377	2,436	577	1767 (10)	12,339	2,232	3,787	
1741	11,831	1,811	1,691	1768 (10)	6,948	1,454	5,761	822
1742	15,808	3,115	1,986	1769	5,256	1,278	3,201	3,849
1743	9,755	2,206	2,012	1770	4,133	827	1,335	2,111
1744	7,678	17,552	1,245	1771	7,429	2,259	1,353	1,142
1745	8,823	1,286	988	1772 (8)	2,745	1,622	2,291	582
1746	18,016	1,519	4,262	1773 (8)	831	1,236	1,043	396
1747	13,737	4,422	5,162	1774 (4)	870	1,176	1,394	
1748	5,521	3,075	2,397					
1749	7,796	3,765	1,582					
1750 (11)	11,157	3,858	812					

TABLE C

Lumber, Shingles, Staves and Lath Exported from Charleston, 1754-1774

Year	Lumber Feet	Shingles	Staves	Laths	Hoops
1754	764,607	822,120	102,290		
1755	780,776	952,880	168,121		
1756	395,190	1,114,226	206,432		
1757	202,316	522,420	109,890		
1758	234,303	665,100	86,867		
1759	1,018,490				
1760		1,320,850			
1761	610,952	1,354,500	236,327		
1762	414,754	896,500	163,990	3,500	15,220
1763	647,112	1,225,160	362,065		11,625
1764	948,121	1,553,365	228,015	7,000	17,800
1765					
1766					
1767	450,118	1,717,800	240,813		
1768	760,125	2,131,000	182,940		15,600
1769	592,026	2,072,947	282,180		954
1770	697,393	1,305,625	117,860		24,875
1771	675,000	709,000	101,228		11,750
1772	498,000	1,123,500	158,614		3,000
1773	528,637	1,313,500	79,875		11,900
1774	110,923	858,100	27,400		

TABLE D

Corn, Peas and Potatoes Exported from Charleston, 1735-1774

Years	Bushels Corn	Bushels Peas	Year	Bushels Corn	Bushels Peas	Bushels Potatoes
1735	93,385	2,895	1756	17,727	6,868	
1736			1757	7,327	6,335	
1737			1758	590	2,850	
1738			1759			
1739			1760	10,381	4,293	429
1740			1761	8,957	3,474	1,245
1741			1762	41,468	5,956	494
1742			1763	26,741	4,640	
1743	13,335	4,797	1764	91,518		940
1744	18,744	2,224	1765			
1745	30,566		1766			
1746	65,855		1767	25,943	9,160	157
1747	61,355		1768	39,510	7,110	615
1748	39,308	6,107	1769	63,343	10,698	953
1749			1770	22,130	7,781	1,880
1750			1771	54,515	2,320	791
1751			1772	25,734	10,434	182
1752	15,731	4,394	1773	28,190	6,192	481
1753			1774	3,018	2,860	220
1754	51,612	7,210				
1755	16,428	9,162				

TABLE E

Beef and Pork Exported from Charleston, 1744-1774

Year	Beef Bar- rels	Kegs	Pork Bar- rels	Year	Beef Bar- rels	Tubs	Pork Bar- rels
1744	427		910	1761	180		1,184
1745	1,844*			1762	120	2	2,442
1746	3,580*			1763	467		2,080
1747	4,048*			1764	3,115*	52	
1748				1765			
1749				1766			
1750				1767	492		4,848
1751				1768	272		2,778
1752	519		1,000	1769	338		3,004
1753	280		234	1770	306		1,418
1754	332		696	1771	115		1,758
1755	416		1,560	1772	90		1,213
1756	301		1,293	1773	20		1,533
1757	86		443	1774	57		432
1758	1,033*						
1759							
1760	172	15	814				

TABLE F

Exports of Miscellaneous Products

Pink root, 1760, 1 hhd., 3 bbls., 1 bag, 90 lbs.; 1761, 1 tierce; 1764, 11 hhds., 1 bbl., 9 tierces; 1771, 6 hhds., 13 bbls.; 1772(8), 1 hhd., 3 bbls.; 1773(7), 17 hhds.; 1774(5), 49 hhds., 4 bbls.

Snake root, 1760, 2 hhds.; 1761, 1 tierce; 1764, 1 tierce, 2 bbls.; 1767(10), 1 hhd., 1768(10), 3 casks; 1772, 54 lbs.

Tallow, 1760, 24 bbls.; 1761, 39 bbls.; 1762, 27 bbls.; 1763(11), 6 bbls.; 1764, 11 bbls.; 1767(10), 1,054 lbs.; 1768, 20 casks; 1770, 3,615 lbs.; 1771, 14 bbls.

*Indicates figure for both commodities.

Tallow Candles, 1761, 1 box; 1763(11), 16 boxes; 1769, 120 boxes; 1771, 74 boxes; 1772(8), 45 boxes; 1773(7), 53 boxes; 1774(5) 27 boxes.

Beeswax, 1760, 5 casks, 1,900 lbs.; 1761, 8 casks; 1762, 12 casks; 1763(11), 47 casks, 19 kegs; 1764, 12 casks, 1,692 lbs.; 1767(10), 6,420 lbs.; 1768, 14,114 lbs.; 1769, 14,038 lbs.; 1770, 16,370 lbs.; 1771, 1,115 lbs.; 1772(8), 7,280 lbs.; 1773(7), 7,910 lbs; 1774(5), 3,878 lbs.

Butter, 1760, 307 firkins; 1761(11), 279 firkins; 1762(11), 383 firkins; 1763(11), 1,093 firkins; 1764, 722 firkins, 3 bbls.; 1767, 301 firkins; 1768(10), 696 firkins; 1769, 676 firkins; 1770, 1,384 firkins; 1771, 874 firkins; 1772(6), 613 firkins; 1773(6), 385 firkins; 1774(4), 317 firkins.

Leather, 1747, 3,846 sides; 1748, 10,365 lbs.; 1752, 4,111 hides and sides; 1753, 5,484 hides and sides; 1754, 4,422 sides; 1755, 4,196 sides; 1756, 2,528 sides; 1757, 4,470 sides; 1759, 4,031 sides, 708 hides, 2 cases; 1760, 4,789 sides, 1,996 lbs.; 1761, 4,643 sides, 4,754 hides, 12 bundles; 1763, 3,572 sides, 273 hides; 1764, 7,116 sides; 1767, 3,331 sides; 1768, 2,629 sides; 1770, 4,867 sides; 1771, 1,507 sides; 1772, 4,133 sides; 1773, 4,183 sides; 1774, 940 sides.

Hogs, 1764, 707; 1767(10), 129; 1768(10), 730; 1770, 93; 1771, 260; 1772(8), 100; 1773(8), 133.

Horses, 1764, 21; 1767(10), 28; 1769, 261; 1770, 68; 1771, 174; 1772(8), 215; 1773(8), 27; 1774(4), 44.

Tobacco, 1769, 160 hhds., 111,062 lbs.; 1770, 202 hhds.; 1771, 304 hhds.; 1772(8), 598 hhds.; 1773(8), 536 hhds.; 1774(4), 346 hhds.

Oranges, 1760, 881 bbls., 81 tierces, 6 boxes, 2 kegs, 23,750 loose; 1761, 139 bbls., 315,000 loose; 1762, 47 casks, 282,000 loose; 1763, 125 casks, 64,000 loose; 1764, 218 bbls., 1 hhd., 3 hampers, 1 chest, 148,000 loose; 1768(10), 33 bbls.; 1769, 87 bbls.; 1770, 254 bbls; 1771, 42 bbls., 10,000 loose.

Bacon, 1760, 312 lbs.; 1762, 7 bbls.; 1763, 1,520 lbs.; 1764, 34 lbs., 4 casks; 1771, 6,510 lbs.; 1773, 2,911 lbs.

THE MIGRATION OF LOYALISTS FROM SOUTH CAROLINA¹

ROBERT W. BARNWELL, JR.

In 1775 the policy of the revolutionary government was to prevent departures from the province, and only a few persons were permitted to leave. Governor Campbell, his secretary, Alexander Innis, James Trail, the Clerk of the Crown, and John Stuart, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, either escaped or were permitted to do so, but all the other crown officers remained. After the Declaration of Independence their presence was embarrassing. In addition, there were several persons who were outspoken in their opposition. The policy then changed and laws were enacted allowing and forcing Loyalists to leave. There were two of these legal migrations, one in 1777 and the other in 1778, each being the result of a test oath.

The oath of 1777 required a person to renounce allegiance to George III by name,² and was known as the "oath of abjuration". It was tendered only to crown officers and to persons whom the governor and council considered suspicious. Those who refused the oath were required to sail for some neutral port; probably others left who were not tendered the oath. Among those leaving were:³

Lieutenant-Governor William Bull, a native of South Carolina; Henry Peronneau, one of the provincial treasurers, also a native; Attorney General James Simpson; Chief Justice Thomas Knox Gordon; Edward Savage, one of the assistant justices; Thomas Skottowe, Secretary of the Province; James Johnson, Clerk of the Crown; Probart Howarth, commander of Fort Johnson, a former army officer; Rev. Robert Cooper, rector of St. Michael's; Rev. Alexander Hewat, Scotch Presbyterian minister and historian; Alexander Cumming, a Beaufort schoolmaster; Charles Prince, a naval officer; George Thompson, a Scotch merchant, arrived 1772; William and James Carsan, Scotch merchants (outspoken Loyalists); Robert Williams, lawyer (returned 1778 and took oath of allegiance to the state); John Hopton, merchant, native (returned 1778 and took the oath); Alexander Wright, native and son of Governor James Wright

¹ Wilbur H. Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida, 1774-1785* (2 vols., DeLand, Florida, 1929) has been of great value in the preparation of this paper. The Loyalist claims have also been used. For these see Alexander Frazer, *Second Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario, 1904* (hereinafter cited as *Ontario Archives*) (Toronto, 1905) and *American Loyalists*, Audit Office Transcript, Mss. (hereinafter cited, *American Loyalists*) (New York Public Library). The writer has not completed the examination of the latter.

² Thomas Cooper and David J. McCord, eds., *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina* (hereinafter cited, Cooper, *Statutes*) (10 vols., Columbia, 1836-1841), I, 135-136.

³ See respective claims in *American Loyalists*.

of Georgia (returned 1778 to save property, but joined Prevost 1779); John Morgridge,⁴ a waiter of Customs at Charleston, native of North Carolina; William Wragg,⁵ native, drowned on this voyage.

Persons leaving the state were required to place a notice in the gazettes for the benefit of their creditors. Those having such notices were: John Champneys,* Dr. Samuel Chollet, William Guerard De Brahm, Robert Livie, Charles Fyffe,* Dr. Alexander Baron, Charles Shaw,* Nicholas Lechmere, collector of customs at Beaufort, William Savage, William Bellenger Kelsall, Fenwicke Bull, George Harland Hartly.⁶

In 1778 all male inhabitants, sixteen years of age, or over, were required to swear allegiance to the state and to promise to defend it against George III.⁷ Some of the Loyalists called this the "state oath". It occasioned a much larger migration than that of the preceding year. Among those leaving were:⁸

Robert William Powell, prominent merchant, a native; Sir Edmund Head, prominent merchant, arrived 1764; Henry Reeves, a merchant, arrived 1762, married well; Dr. John Harrison, surgeon and physician, arrived 1765; Dr. John Farquharson, arrived 1751, studied medicine at Edinburgh; John Brailsford and his father, arrived 1775, had claim to May barony; Robert Dee, arrived 1774, associated with the Brailsfords; Rev. Edward Jenkins, rector of St. Bartholomew's Parish; William Hest, arrived 1753, engaged in rope making; Lackland McIntosh,⁹ a lieutenant on half pay; John Chisolm,¹⁰ arrived during French and Indian war as soldier, settled and kept a store; Peter Dean,¹¹ arrived 1774, clerk to a merchant.

The following list of persons sailing on one vessel was obtained from the *Gazette*:¹²

Robert Robertson	John Wyatt	William Brockie
Robert Frogg *	Benjamin Castell	Donald Harper
John Bonsall	William Lawrence	John Hayes
Andrew Russell	William Hamilton Cole	David Swanson
Joseph Morlay	Thomas Smith (founder)	William Benny

* Persons whose names are marked thus put in claims to the British Government for indemnity, but the writer has not yet examined any of their several claims. Lechmere, Kelsall and Hartly stated that they were compelled to depart, but Savage gave ill health as his reason for leaving.

⁴ Siebert, *Loyalists*, II. 35.

⁵ Edward McCrady, *History of South Carolina in the Revolution, 1775-1780* (hereinafter cited, McCrady, *Hist. of S. C., 1775-1780*) (New York, 1897), pp. 28-29.

⁶ *South Carolina and American General Gazette*, Mar. 20, Apr. 13, Apr. 17, May 8, May 15, May 27, June 2, Sept. 18; *South Carolina Gazette*, May 27, June 2.

⁷ Cooper, *Statutes*, I. 147-151.

⁸ See respective claims in American Loyalists.

⁹ *Ibid.*, LIII. 24 (claim of Thomas Phepoe).

¹⁰ *Ontario Archives*, II. 1136-1138.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, I. 326-327.

¹² *S. C. Gazette*, July 8, 1778.

Benjamin Lord *
John Smith (tallow
Chandler)
James Robinson

George Smithson
John Robinson
Thomas Raven

Daniel Manson *
Robert Rowand ¹³
Philip Henry ¹⁴

Also the gazettes contain notices of intentions to depart by the following persons: ¹⁵

William Creighton †
Robert Hutchinson
(Wateree River)
John Rainsford
John Muncriffie
Hugh Pollock
William Begbie, of
Begbie and Manson
James Keith
John Chambers †

John Grant
James Duncan
John M'Queen
Harrie Michie †
Henry Livingston
Mary Lingard
S. Baron
William Remington
John Coram

Anthony Kennan
James Skene †
Samuel Carsan
James Parsons
John Powell, St. Helena
John Smith (soap
boiler)
William Fell
James Darby

The enforcement of this oath was carried out by the militia organization and probably varied with the sentiment of the community. The testimony of James Simpson was that "many people in the country might escape taking it, but no one in Charles Town could avoid it." ¹⁶ Those who refused the oath were allowed sixty days to make arrangements for their departure. They were permitted to appoint attorneys to sell their property after they had gone, but if this was not done within a year it was to be confiscated. Those who had left in 1777 were allowed eighteen months to dispose of their property through attorneys. If any of those leaving returned, they were to be considered guilty of treason and their property was to be confiscated. No machinery was set up at this time for carrying out this confiscation, due perhaps to the fact that South Carolina became the theatre of the war in 1779.

The confiscation act of 1782 included in list 1, without naming the individuals affected, all who left and had failed to dispose of their property or who had returned during the period of British occupation. ¹⁷ This explains why William Bull, Rev. Edward Jenkins, John Champneys, Alexander Baron, John Wyatt, Mark Walkman, Robert

* Persons whose names are marked thus put in claims to the British Government for indemnity, but the writer has not yet examined their claims. [No paragraph.] Lord went to Florida and was appointed acting surveyor general by Governor Tonyn (Siebert, *Loyalists*, II. 195-198).

¹³ Merchant and rice planter, came from Scotland 1756.—*American Loyalists*, L.IV. 297 ff.

¹⁴ Arrived 1768, made a fortune as a factor and in land speculation.—*ibid.*, L.II. 191-199.

¹⁵ *S. C. and Am. Gen. Gazette*, Apr. 23-Aug. 13, 1778.

† Claims for these not yet examined by the writer; the first nine men named stated that they were compelled to leave. The last two gave ill health as their reason.

¹⁶ Claim of James Brisbane.—*American Loyalists*, L.III. 386.

¹⁷ Cooper, *Statutes*, IV. 517-518. For an unofficial list containing the names of fifty persons in this class see Mabel L. Webber, ed. "Diary of Josiah Smith", *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* (hereinafter cited *SCHGM*) XXXIV. 198-199.

Rowand and William Guerard DeBrahm are named in acts relieving them from confiscation although their names are not specifically mentioned in the confiscation act of 1782.

The law giving the emigres a year to sell their property appears reasonable for war times but it occasioned hardships, as property had to be sold quickly and at a loss. A still greater hardship was encountered in getting the proceeds from the sale out of the state. There was a law against the export of specie, and paper money was not accepted in Europe and the West Indies. The best way was to purchase some product such as rice or indigo and ship it to Europe where it could be sold. Henry Peronneau invested the proceeds from the sale of his house and furniture in indigo, taking precaution to ship in two different vessels. One was wrecked and the other captured by the British and condemned.¹⁸

There were also illegal migrations. The "sedition act" of 1776 declared that anyone who joined the British or communicated with them was guilty of treason.¹⁹ Hence to go directly to Florida was illegal. There were only a few departures of this type from the coastal region, but in March, 1779, two men were hanged for attempting to escape and carry dispatches to the British.²⁰ On the other hand a great many men from the back country joined the British directly.

In the summer of 1775 the royal governor had succeeded in organizing a considerable back country following. It was soon crushed and disarmed but several of the leaders managed to get to Florida, and Thomas Browne and Joseph Robinson²¹ were never captured. Evan McLaurin²² and Richard Pearis²³ were imprisoned for a time; they were released soon after the battle of Fort Moultrie and soon thereafter made their escape to Florida. The Indian country furnished a means by which the British at Pensacola could communicate with the back country, and through agents they were able to keep alive their party.

In 1777 the British raised two provincial military organizations in Florida partly from refugees. At Pensacola John Stuart, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, formed the West Florida Rangers. One company was commanded by Richard Pearis and the other by

¹⁸ American Loyalists, LII. 505-532.

¹⁹ Cooper, *Statutes*, III. 343-346.

²⁰ McCrady, *Hist. of S. C., 1775-1780*, pp. 345-347.

²¹ *Ontario Archives*, I. 799-801.

²² American Loyalists, LIII. 327.

²³ *Ontario Archives*, I. 190-194.

Alexander Cameron.²⁴ The latter was a Scotchman and had been Stuart's deputy to the Cherokee Indians. At St. Augustine Governor Tonyn raised the Florida Rangers with Thomas Browne as colonel. It was composed of residents of Florida as well as of refugees and deserters from Georgia and the Carolinas.²⁵

It was not until 1778 that large numbers went to Florida. There had been several unsuccessful attempts or plots to get a large body of men to escape from the South Carolina back country, but many of the Loyalists had been disarmed and they were held in check by the Whig militia. In March, 1778, the prominent militia leaders were attending a very important meeting of the legislature. The Loyalists took advantage of their absence and several groups embodied and joined forces a little above Orangeburg. Two of the leaders were Benjamin Gregory and John Murphy. They crossed the Savannah River below Augusta by seizing some trading boats.²⁶ Though pursued by the militia of South Carolina and Georgia they reached Florida in safety. Accounts of their numbers while on the march were put as high as six hundred but there were a little less than four hundred who arrived safely in Florida. Three hundred and twenty-eight of them were formed into a provincial regiment known as the South Carolina Royalists. Joseph Robinson and Evan McLaurin were made lieutenant-colonel and major respectively.²⁷ The test oath is usually considered the reason for this migration and undoubtedly it was a cause since the dates of the law and the migration coincide so completely. These men, however, went expressly for the purpose of forming a regiment, for they had been recruited by agents of Governor Campbell.²⁸ Alexander Innis, a former British army officer and secretary of Governor Campbell, was given the title of colonel of the regiment.

Professor Siebert distinguishes three large groups of Loyalists that went from South Carolina at this time, namely: the one that formed the South Carolina Royalists; an even larger group known as Scopholites from their leader "Col. Scophol of the South Carolina militia"; and a group of about four hundred men led by Colonel Murphy.²⁹ The writer believes that these were all one and the same

²⁴ Historical Manuscript Commission, *American Manuscripts in the Royal Institution* (hereinafter cited *Am. Mss. in Roy. Inst.*), (4 vols., London, Dublin, Hereford, 1904-1909), I. 186-187.

²⁵ Siebert, *Loyalists*, I. 52.

²⁶ William Moultrie, *Memoirs of the American Revolution* (2 vols., New York, 1802), I. 203; *S. C. and Am. Gen. Gazette*, Apr. 16, 1778.

²⁷ Siebert, *Loyalists*, I. 52.

²⁸ *Am. Mss. in Roy. Inst.*, I. 239, 240, 258, 304-306.

²⁹ Siebert, *Loyalists*, 53-54.

group, for all of these bands are reported as passing through Georgia during the one month of April, and one of the captains of the South Carolina Royalists was John Murphy.³⁰ Furthermore, "Scopholite" was the general contemptuous term used for Loyalists in the back country of South Carolina.³¹ John F. Grinke who took part in the expedition against Florida in the summer of 1778 used the term continually in referring to Loyalists. He mentioned a group of "Scopholites" enlisted in the British service for the war who had been drilled by Prevost.³² Surely, these were the South Carolina Royalists. The British headquarters papers mentioned only the one group nor do they say anything about a Colonel Scophol, who was a leader of the anti-regulator faction in South Carolina ten years before. Scophol or Scoville may have been a Loyalist in the Revolution, and may have gone to Florida, but there is no evidence that he led a separate body of four hundred men.

Many other Loyalists in South Carolina wished to leave the state, and though most of them were prevented by the Whig militia, a number of small parties succeeded in escaping. At this time a Royal North Carolina regiment was formed in Florida, composed partly of Scotch Highlanders from that state. In it were refugees from other Southern states,³³ some of them doubtless from South Carolina.

In 1779 there was another attempt by a large group to join the British with a very different result, namely, the Battle of Kettle Creek. About seven hundred men from South Carolina and North Carolina tried to reach the British who were then in Georgia. They were defeated by Colonel Pickens just before they reached safety. Even then about two hundred and fifty escaped to Savannah and were formed into a second battalion of the South Carolina Royalists. Many prisoners were captured at Kettle Creek. Seventy-five were tried for treason in the civil court, twenty-five were condemned and five executed. These migrations were serious since they furnished the British with recruits. The executions were an example of terror to stop similar attempts, but were also the beginning of the hanging practiced by both sides which is such a regrettable feature of the Revolution.³⁴

An ordinance was passed in 1779 by which the governor was to

³⁰ William O. Raymond, "Roll of Officers of the British American or Loyalists Corps", *New Brunswick Historical Society Collections* (Saint Johns, 1904), II. 244.

³¹ Hugh McCall, *The History of Georgia* (2 vols., Savannah, 1811-1816), II. 4.

³² "Memoirs of the Campaign to the Southward, May 9th to July 14th, 1778, by John Fauchereau Grimke", *SCHGM*, XII. 64-65, 128-130.

³³ Siebert, *Loyalists*, II. 53-54.

³⁴ McCrady, *Hist. of S. C., 1775-1780*, pp. 377-338; *American Loyalists*, LII, 239-240; *Ontario Archives*, I. 727-729.

issue proclamations calling on persons who had joined the British to return. If they did not do so their property was to be confiscated.³⁵ Two such proclamations were issued. One dated November 8, 1779, contains forty-eight names as follows:³⁶

John Dalrymple	Abner Bushup	Gotleb Suber
James Harvey	alias Bishop	Abraham Gelge
David Reas	Elijah Bushup	Edward Layne
James Teniseley	alias Bishop	Geo. Dawkins
John Hunter	Golding Bushup	John Murphey
Henry Green	alias Bishop	Wm. Murphey
Samuel Proctor	John Atway	Wm. Thompson
James Barton	alias Otway	James Fady
Isaac Gray	John Fridig	James Nealy
Thomas Elison	Frederick Richo.ater	James Nealy, Jun.
Arthur Brutcher	Nathan Kuz.ner	Charles M'Lellan
John Boyd	Koonred Sleice	James Daugherty
Benjamin Barton	John Griggory	James Daugherty, Jun.
Richard Fowler	Benjamin Griggory	Alexander Dayly, Sen.
John Speirgen	John Livingston	Alexander Dayly, Jun.
Tho. Niveld	Martin Livingston	Miles Busbe
John Mahon	James Wright	Henry Hasten
Hugh Ferham	Christopher Suber	John Heipe

The other proclamation dated December 16, contained thirty-eight names as follows:³⁷

Randall Hemes	Bazil Lee	George More
William Benson	Benjamin Medool	David More
John Pots	Barnet Coller	Samuel Smith
Barnet Young	Christopher Colman	Philip Davis, Sen.
James Adington	Zachariah Beley	Joshua Foulous
Thomas Jackson	David Beley	Aaron Spanoson
William Lee, Jun.	William Deper	Josiah Langston
Nathaniel Hillon	Robert Colman	John Tubnure
Jacob Powell	Timothy Poston	William Cunningham
Edward Jirs. sen	John Mosley	Daniel M'Nilk
Wm. Holmes	John Emory	Credily Weedingham
William Wood	Elijah Wells	Robert Powell
Daniel Plumer	Stephen Mafield	William Lee
John Hils		

Many of these are men who left in 1778. Apparently no immediate steps were taken towards confiscation, but these proclamations were not forgotten. Over two years later when the confiscation act of 1782 was passed, these persons were included, although they were not again listed individually.³⁸

In Dr. Siebert's *Loyalists in East Florida* occurs the following statement: "these drastic laws stimulated flight to East Florida to such a degree that nearly seven thousand loyalists from Carolina and Georgia are said to have entered the province during the year 1778."³⁹ This seems impossible. No evidence is shown in the above work of so many persons being in Florida at that time. Florida would

³⁵ Cooper, *Statutes*, IV. 479-480.

³⁶ *S. C. and Am. Gen. Gazette*, Nov. 19, 1779.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, Dec. 17, 1779.

³⁸ Cooper, *Statutes*, IV. 518.

³⁹ Siebert, *Loyalists*, I. 61.

have been unable to supply such a body of men with food. There would have been evidence of land being granted and cleared. The total number of men in the three large provincial corps recruited from refugees in Florida could hardly have exceeded a thousand. Finally the number of white exiles going to Florida in 1782 was not far short of "nearly seven thousand."⁴⁰ It is conceivable that the original authority confused the two migrations. The statement is supported only by references to two secondary works written nearly a century after the Revolution.⁴¹ Neither is documented. Presumably the statement rests on tradition. Hence it might easily happen that the dates of the two migrations became confused.

The great migration occurred in 1782 on the evacuation of Charleston. This was because many people committed themselves to the British side during their occupation and also on account of the bitterness of the warfare. The confiscation act lists 238 estates.⁴² Those known to be included in the two unenumerated groups bring the total to 378.⁴³ But many persons left who were not banished by law, yet for whom the danger in remaining was no less great. In 1783 an ordinance was passed confiscating the property of all who had departed with the British or had died in their service.⁴⁴ Some reports made by the colonels of militia of the persons formerly living in their regimental district who were affected by this law have recently been found. These give the names of 746 Loyalists. Of these 120 are listed as dead, but several of the reports make no distinction between those who died and those who left with the British.⁴⁵ Some reports are missing, but those available include all regions outside of the city where Loyalists were very numerous except the region of the Little Pee Dee.

But many more Loyalists left than are indicated in these reports. A document of British origin gives the following figures for the white persons accompanying the British on the evacuation of Charleston, classified according to destination: Jamaica 1278, Florida 1615, Halifax 417, New York 190, England 274, St. Lucia 20, total 3794.⁴⁶ But these figures include Loyalists from North Carolina and other

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, I. 129-131.

⁴¹ George R. Fairbanks, *History of Florida* (Philadelphia, 1871), p. 225; Sidney Lanier, *Florida, Its Scenery, Climate and History* (Philadelphia, 1876), pp. 194-195.

⁴² Cooper, *Statutes*, IV. 517-518, VI. 629-632. Several on list 1 owned land in South Carolina, but were residents of England. In 1784, 125 estates were relieved. Also 5 estates affected by the ordinance of 1783.—*Ibid.*, IV. 634, VI. 634-636.

⁴³ Above, pp. 36-40.

⁴⁴ Below pp. Cooper, *Statutes*, IV. 568-570.

⁴⁵ Below pp. 43-46.

⁴⁶ Ella P. Levett, "Loyalism in Charleston, 1761-1784". THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOUTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, 1936, p. 12.

states that had gathered at Charleston. On the other hand they do not include the members of the provincial regiments. Finally the figures are too low for the number of refugees going to Florida. Dr. Siebert gives figures which indicate that 3397 white persons from the Carolinas went there.⁴⁷ It is impossible to make a close estimate but from the available evidence it seems that the total number of exiles from South Carolina was around five thousand.

⁴⁷ Siebert, *Loyalists*, I. 131.

REPORTS ON LOYALIST EXILES FROM SOUTH CAROLINA, 1783

EDITED BY ROBERT W. BARNWELL, JR.

These returns were recently found among the papers in the office of the Historical Commission of South Carolina. They were made to the Commissioners of Confiscated Estates by the colonels of the South Carolina militia, in accordance with an ordinance passed in 1783, which declared confiscated the property of all former inhabitants of the state who had departed with the British or had died or been killed in their service.¹ The dates of the reports range from May 5 to June 10, 1783. It is noteworthy that there are no reports for Charleston or the coastal region. Either these are missing or else the Commissioners obtained the names for those districts by other means.

EXPLANATION

a. = acres	* = presented claim to Br. gov't.
d. = died	† = on confiscation list
k. = killed	r. = relieved from confiscation

Names of officers making the reports are italicized; dots indicate omissions due to illegible letters or damaged manuscript; names are as in original except for capitalization, punctuation and abbreviation.

? indicates editor's doubt as to spelling of a name.

Col. Benjamin Roebuck, Spartan Regt.: living—Wm. Stone, Wm. Stone Sr. Joseph Collins, Thomas Rodgers,* William Sneed, Squire Brown, Patrack Liett, John Goulman, Jr., William Young, Robert Alexander,* Nick Halley, James Spears, John Earnest, Benj. Wofford,† Jeremiah Gentry, Jacob Pyburn, James Fortuneberrey, David Cox, William Bates, Thomas Boden, George Johnson, Cagier Stone, Stephen Ballard, Adam Nooncarser * [Nunkasor], John Isom, Henery Fortuneberrey; *dead*—Batholemew Crowair, Nathan Halcomb, William Norris, James Robbins, Matthew Wade, Macada Wade, John Neighbours, Abraham Neighbors, John Goleman, Moses Dawsett, Matthew Turner, Aaron Span, Josiah Langston, Joseph Read, Edward Nash, William Sexton, Samuel Sexton, R. . . . Harris, John Morgan, Thomas Morgan, Francis Crow, John Spurgan, Nathan Owens, Richard McClarkin, John Cornwell, James Hall, Nathan Hillin, James Benton, John Briggs, John Langston, Richard Halcomb, Benjamin Mehaney, Wm. Duncan, David Duncan, Peter Biter, Benjamin McDowell, Charles Moore, William Biter, Giles Dueberrey, Thomas Dueberrey, Patrick Moore, John Anderson, John Winn, Drury Winn, Charles Sneed, John Pig, Thomas Hattaway, Joseph Patterson, Thomas Ballard, Thomas Clerk, Isam Evans, Burrell Evans, Abram Bird, Abraham Penington, Thomas Pack, Jonathan Clerk, William Fewquay, Thomas Ballard Sr., John Timmons, Thomas Timmons, Batholemew Clerk, Wm. Vincent, Michal Isam, William Slayton, Thomas Stone (Enoree fisher), James Wilkins, Nathaniel Young.

Col. John Marshall's Regt., Camden District: Capt. John Graham's Co.—David Dranen, Mach. Calley, William McKee, Nathl. Cary, James Robertson, Alexander Burnsides,* Patrick Slone; *Capt. Ballards Co.*—Rush Hudson, Ambrose Cutright; *Capt. Douglass Starke's Co.*—William Downes (k), Ephraim Harrison (k), Robert Harrison (k), Lodwick Hudson (k), James Mathews (k), William Payne (k) James Terry (k), Jesse Dukes (k), Jacob Willson

¹ Thomas Cooper and David J. McCord, eds., *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina* (10 vols., Columbia, 1836-1841), IV. 568-570.

(250 a.), Joseph Ostin (100 a.), Nicholas Wirrey ? (300 a.), Mark Davis (100 a. ?), Elexander Daley (100 a.), Philip Shaver (100 a.), John Dunkleys (100 a., 5 cattle, 1 feather bed, 1 spinning wheel, 1 pewter dish, 5 plated dishes, 3 pots, 1 table, 3 chairs, 1 plow, 1 axe) Miles Busby (300 a., 1 feather bed, 1 pot), John Tomson (400 a., 11 cattle, 3 feather beds, 3 pewter dishes, 4 plated dishes, 2 pots, 1 table, 6 chairs, 4 sheep) [No distinction made between dead and departed for this company]; *Capt. Goodwyn's Co.*—Martin Marshal, Robert Pritchett; *Capt. Starke's Co.*—Joseph Hardage; *Capt. Strother's Co.*—John F. Dubbers (d., 100 a., 1 horse, 5 cattle, 2 feather beds, 3 spinning wheels), Jacob Etiner (Atiner), Gosper Wershing (300 a.); *Capt. John Cook's Co.*—Wm. Ledinham (d., 200 a., 14 cattle, 2 feather beds), James Bell Sr. (d., 1 slave, 100 a., 10 cattle), John Bell (d., 50 a.), James Bell Jr. (50 a.), John Rankins ? (200 a.); *Co. unknown*—John Kanada (200 a.). [Duplicate lists. All names except last two listed twice.]

Col. Thomas Brandon's Regt.: Joshua Leaton, Jas. Land, Robt. Scelton, Wm. Land, Wm. Johnson, Jas. Sparks, David Prichart, John Cason, Ephraim Bates, Thos. Bates, Jas. Bates, Wm. Lee, Jr., Wm. Gist,*† Thos. Fletcher,*† Jacob Powell, Wm. Curtis,, Zaca. Stedham, Michael Lee, Saml. Medlock, John White, Adam Stedham, Thos. Lantrip, Jacob Flinton, Robt. Scelton, Peter Petty Pool, Robt. Pool, Peter Pool, Stephen Mayfield, John Mayfield, Jas. Polson, Robt. Wilson, Jas. Hardwick, Wm. Moore, Benj. Tharp, John Dickerson, Jesse Ninson, . . . Ninson, Danl. Ninson, Berallin Tharp, Charnick Tharp, Wm. Tharp, Presley Tharp, Enoch Hollingsworth, Jas. Hollingsworth, Isaac Hollingsworth, David Hi. ., John Martin Jr., Jas. Adams, David George, John Taylor, Elijah Wells, Davis Moore, Saml. Smith, George Moore, Wm. Moore, John Tessnear, Benj. Tessnear, John Cunningham† [r. 1784], Wm. Cunningham,† Philip Davis, Philip Wedingman, John Wedingman Jr., Chas. Smith, Danl. McKissock, John Gore, Robt. Drewrey, John Adams, Jesse Fincker, Danl. Prince, John White, Francis Hedden, John Beaver, Francis Hutson, John Briant, Jonathan Frost, ? Wm. Harmon, John Benson, Henry Benson, Wm. Benson, Jacob Cooper, Edwd. Nixon, Thos. Nixon, Robt. Rogers, James Dixon, Jas. Moorhead, Elisha Pruet, Ansel Pruet, Jas. Ham, George Potts, Jas. Nernon, Barnett Collier, Edwd. Irves, ? John Liles, Wm. Holmes, Jonathan Parker, Wm. Bogan, Jesse Gray, Saml. Gray, Zebri. . Holmes, Danl. Plumer,† Jas. Jones, Joel Farmer, Aaron Springer, Jas. Collins, Bradly Collins, Moses Collins, Alexander Chesney,* Robt. McWhorter, Randall Haims, David Baily, Thos. Baily, Christopher Coleman, Robt. Coleman, Philip Coleman, John Mosley, Wm. Draper, John Emrey, Timothy Poston, Silas Littlejohn, John Rayburn, Curtis Caldwell, Jas. Scott, Hugh Cook, James Martain, James Martain Jr., Hughey Grindal, Stephen McWhorter, ? Ji. . Davis, John Jones. [No distinction made between dead and departed.]

Col. Robert Anderson's Regt., Ninety Six Dist.: John Craford, Isaac Stewart,* John Hamilton,* John Welch, David Welch, David Henderson, James Henderson, John Sloan, Andw. Sloan, James Sloan, Allen Haggitt, James Jones,* Richard King,*† George Neil, Samuel Hill,* Wm. Ingram, Thomas Martain, Robert Sloan,* Thomas Moore Sr., J. . Ratliff, Andw. Niel, Sr., Wm. Conway, Robert Smith, John Niel Jr., John Niel Sr., Wm. . eday George Bond,* James Holmes, Andw. Caldwell, John Bond,* John Ecan, ? Alexr. Ramsey, John Eagar, James Carmicael, Charless Collance, John Ballenger, Saml. Morrow, John Pickens, William Wilson, John Masterson, John Tiner, Caleb Tiner, Lewis Tiner, Elijah Tiner, John Tiner Jr., Hugh McGee, John Niel Sr., Thomas Niel, David Lorimore,* Thomas Crosier, George Long,* Andw. Robison, James Gordon, David Pressly Sr., Saml. Pressly, David Pressly Jr., Wm. Dorris, Henery Wiley, Robert Bogs, Alexander McCreary, John Sanderson,* Hugh Sympson, Samuel Wilson, Nathl. Wilson,* Andw. Rynalds, Saml. Glasgow, Zachariah Goodwin, Jesse Campbell, Saml. Wilson, John Ramsey, Walter Scott. [No distinction made between dead and departed.]

Col. Water's Regt., Ninety Six Dist.: Daniel Dawalt,* Peter Dawalt, Georg Hagel, Peter Hagel . . . , Thos. Pearson,* James Hunt (100 a., Broad R.), Daniel Stagner (Bear Cr.), Thomas Black Capt. (Saluda R.), John Muffet Lt., George Gray, . . . Wi. ., Jacob Harlen, Fredrick Felmett (200 a.), Peter Oates, Jas. Muffett* [Moffatt], Daniel Muffet, Thos. Crawson (250 a.), George Vallentine, Tarrone Riley, Freck. Risner Capt., Michel Kenemor (250 a.). [All on Cannon Cr. unless otherwise specified. No distinction made between dead and departed.]

Col. John Purves' Lower Ninety Six Regt.: Capt. Ryan's Co.—John Cotton, Barton Harris, John Holland, Jesse Lot, Elijah Bailey, John Bailey, William Kirkland, Wheeler Esther, William Ammonds, James Purvis, Hatter ? Jones, Thomas Whitehead, George Martin, Stephen Martin, Samuel Scott, James Scott, James Tomkins, John Folk, Jonathan Folk, Abiah Carpenter, John Mason; *Capt. Pace's Co.*—Thomas Harrison, Levi Harris, Pinketheman Hawkins; *Capt. Maxwell's Co.*—David Blakely,* Chambers Blakely,* Benjamin Colson,* Sampson McLane, ? Andrew Mirer* [Myer], Henry Siteman,* John Swillan, William Ritener* [Ritenhouse], Henry Adolph, Christain Song,* Nicholas Hen, Fritz Hen, George Shelnut,* Thomas Shelnut,* Jacob Strum, Henry Strum,* Fredrick Rupert, Conrad Shad, Stephe Rupert, Peter Mail,* Charles Hemmel, Snell, Adam Frelick,* John Thornton,* Thomas Thornton,* Thomas Young,* Peter Fritz,* Abraham Fritz,* Conrad Merks* [Marks], Laurence Merk* [Marks], Daniel Mikeler* [Migler], Jacob Withrow, John Withrow,* James Withrow, Joel Cornet, Jonas Cornet, Zebediah Taylor, Adam Bowers,* Charles Bowers,* Robert Russel, Stephen William, Tudders ? Levi Tayler, Ezekiel Harlin; *Capt. Foster's Co.*—John Higden, James Higden, Baily Cheney, Willm. Stewart Sr., Alexander Stuart, Christy Russel, William Yelden, John Richardson, Samuel Davis; *Capt. Moore's Co.*—Hector Dickey, William Thompson, Thomas Small, Jesse Youngblood, Robert Spence,* Hugh Akins, John Akins; *Capt. Mitchel's Co.*—Nicholas McCartney; *Capt. John Martin's Co.*—John Davis Sr., Ephraim Davis, John Davis Jr., Joseph Davis, George Lunday, Samuel Harris, Thomas Clark, Zachariah Lundy, John Clark Jr.; *Capt. George Martin's Co.*—John Mason, Levi Lester, Isaac Vann; *Capt. Carter's Co.*—John Morris, Hatton Morris; *Capt. Coussey's Co.*—Hezekiah Williams, Frederick Buckilor; *Capt. Richard Jones' Co.*—Laurnece Rambo Sr., Jacob Sommeral, Thomas Sommeral, Joseph Doolittle, John Tudders; *Capt. Bacon's Co.*—John Adams, John Flannaghan, Philip Goode, John Goode; *Capt. Murray's Co.*—John Ulric Tobler, John Ward, David Ward Sr., David Ward Jr., John Jones, William Jones; *Captain David Butler's Co.*—Josiah Allen, Robert Bolton, Samuel Watson, Thomas Watsman, William Burdett, Thomas Jonakin. [No distinction made between dead and departed.]

Lt. Col. W. R. Thomson's Regt.: David Dickson, John Dickson, Godfrey Kersh, George Burkett, Albright Beckman, Andrew Keggler [r. 1784], Christain Beckman, George Lights, Andrew Rummy Jr., Gosper Roker, Gosper Rikerd, Christopher Corly, Henry Caizer, ? Daniel Hildebrand, Gutlip Stabler Jr., C. G. Rutledge, Joseph Crider, George York, Godfrey Horseman, Samuel Roker, Robert Thornwell, Jacob Gieger † [r. 1784], David Fridig † [r. 1784], Daniel Fridig, Michael Kagler, William Baker, Gosper Keller, John Keller, John Stroup, John Roof Sr., Leonard Bough, Jr., Jacob Aniss, William Stack, Jacob Galman Sr., Anthony Stack, Christopher Boozer, Gosper Coon Sr., Christopher Rouse, ? John Murph, ? George Stroup, John Martin, John Fisher* † [r. 1791], Michael Burtz, Jas. Limans, John Limans, John Kopstade, Abraham Duper, ? Christopher Crider, Henry Sally, Samuel Rowe Jr. † [r. 1784], Joseph Co. per, Philip Pew ? (k), Benjamin Pendarvis (k), Leonard Summers (returned home after the captain reported him).

CONSTITUTION

I

The name of this organization shall be The South Carolina Historical Association.

II

The objects of the Association shall be to promote historical studies in the State of South Carolina; to bring about a closer relationship among persons living in this State who are interested in history; and to encourage the preservation of historical records.

III

Any person approved by the executive committee may become a member by paying \$2.00 and after the first year may continue a member by paying an annual fee of \$2.00.

IV

The officers shall be a president, a vice-president, and a secretary and treasurer who shall be elected by ballot at each regular annual meeting. A list of nominations shall be presented by the executive committee, but nominations from the floor may be made. The officers shall have the duties and perform the functions customarily attached to their respective offices with such others as may from time to time be prescribed.

V

There shall be an executive committee made up of the officers and of two other members elected by ballot for a term of three years; at the first election, however, one shall be elected for two years. Vacancies shall be filled by election in the same manner at the annual meeting following their occurrence. Until such time they shall be filled by appointment by the president. The duties of the executive committee shall be to fix the date and place of the annual meeting, to attend to the publication of the proceedings of the Association, to prepare a program for the annual meetings, to prepare a list of nominations for the officers of the Association as provided in Article IV, and such other duties as may be from time to time assigned to them by the Association. There shall be such other committees as the president may appoint, or be instructed to appoint, by resolution of the Association.

VI

There shall be an annual meeting of the Association at the time and place appointed by the executive committee.

VII

The Association shall publish annually its proceedings to be known as THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOUTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. It shall contain the constitution, by-laws, and minutes of the annual meeting together with such papers as may be selected by the executive committee. It is understood that all papers read at the annual meeting become the property of the Association except as otherwise may be provided by the executive committee.

VIII

This constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the members present at the annual business meeting.

MEMBERS OF THE ASSOCIATION

BAKER, MARY NEEL.....	Greenwood, S. C.
<i>Greenwood High School</i>	
BARNWELL, ROBERT W., JR.....	Columbia, S. C.
BECKHAM, MRS. WILLIAM KINSLER, JR.....	Columbia, S. C.
BENNETT, MRS. JOHN.....	Charleston, S. C.
BLAKE, EUGENE H.....	Greenwood, S. C.
BONHAM, MILLEDGE LOUIS.....	Clinton, N. Y.
<i>Professor of History, Hamilton College</i>	
BONN, EWING TUCKER.....	Columbia, S. C.
<i>Associate Professor of History, University of South Carolina</i>	
BOYD, RUTH.....	Greenville, S. C.
<i>Greenville High School</i>	
BROWN, MARSHALL W.....	Clinton, S. C.
<i>Dean and Professor of History, Presbyterian College</i>	
BULL, REV. H. D.....	Georgetown, S. C.
CALLCOTT, W. H.....	Columbia, S. C.
<i>Professor of History, University of South Carolina</i>	
CAUTHEN, CHARLES E.....	Columbia, S. C.
<i>Professor of History, Columbia College</i>	
CHILDS, MRS. ARNEY R.....	Columbia, S. C.
<i>Associate Professor of History, University of South Carolina</i>	
CHILDS, ST. JULIEN R.....	Baltimore, Md.
CLAYTON, CHRISTINE.....	Columbia, S. C.
<i>Columbia High School</i>	
COLEMAN, JAMES KARL.....	Charleston, S. C.
<i>Associate Professor of History, The Citadel</i>	
COLLINS, MRS. C. C.....	Columbia, S. C.
<i>Wardlaw Junior High School</i>	
CRANE, THOMAS E.....	Allendale, S. C.
<i>The Macmillan Company</i>	
DAVIS, H. C.....	Columbia, S. C.
<i>Professor of English, University of South Carolina</i>	
DERRICK, S. J.....	Newberry, S. C.
<i>Professor of History, Newberry College</i>	
DETREVILLE, CATHERINE.....	Greenville, S. C.
<i>Greenville High School</i>	
DOYLE, OSCAR H.....	Anderson, S. C.
EASTERBY, J. H.....	Charleston, S. C.
<i>Professor of History, College of Charleston</i>	
EPTING, CARL L., JR.....	Clemson College, S. C.
<i>Instructor of History and Government, Clemson College</i>	
FERRELL, C. M.....	Columbia, S. C.
<i>Professor of History, University of South Carolina</i>	
GAYLE, CHARLES J.....	Charleston, S. C.
GILPATRICK, D. H.....	Greenville, S. C.
<i>Professor of History, Furman University</i>	
GLENN, BESS.....	Washington, D. C.
<i>Cataloger, National Archives</i>	
GREEN, EDWIN L.....	Columbia, S. C.
<i>Professor of Ancient Languages, University of South Carolina</i>	
GREGORIE, ANNE KING.....	Columbia, S. C.
<i>Director, State Historical Survey</i>	

HALLMAN, E. B.....	Spartanburg, S. C.
<i>Principal, Oakland School</i>	
HENNIG, MRS. JULIAN.....	Columbia, S. C.
HOLMES, A. G.....	Clemson College, S. C.
<i>Professor of History, Clemson College</i>	
HOOLE, WILLIAM S.....	Birmingham, Ala.
<i>Professor of Books, Birmingham-Southern College</i>	
JONES, F. DUDLEY.....	Clinton, S. C.
<i>Professor of Psychology and Philosophy, Presbyterian College</i>	
JONES, WILLARD L.....	Clinton, S. C.
<i>Librarian, Presbyterian College</i>	
KIBLER, LILLIAN.....	Newberry, S. C.
<i>Newberry High School</i>	
KING, SUSAN SAVAGE.....	Rock Hill, S. C.
<i>Rock Hill High School</i>	
LAWHON, ELEANOR.....	Columbia, S. C.
<i>Wardlaw Junior High School</i>	
LESENE, J. M.....	Greenville, S. C.
<i>Greenville High School</i>	
LEVETT, ELLA P.....	Charleston, S. C.
<i>North Charleston High School</i>	
MAGILL, SADIE.....	Columbia, S. C.
<i>Columbia High School</i>	
MERIWETHER, R. L.....	Columbia, S. C.
<i>Professor of History, University of South Carolina</i>	
MILLS, W. H.....	Clemson College, S. C.
<i>Professor of Rural Sociology, Clemson College</i>	
MOORE, JOHN W.....	Florence, S. C.
<i>Superintendent, Florence City Schools</i>	
MCINTOSH, NANCY.....	Anderson, S. C.
<i>Girls' High School</i>	
MCIVER, MRS. KATE BULL.....	Charleston, S. C.
McKISSICK, J. RION.....	Columbia, S. C.
<i>President, University of South Carolina</i>	
McMASTER, AGNES RICE.....	Columbia, S. C.
<i>Taylor School</i>	
NASH, MRS. BOYD.....	Spartanburg, S. C.
OLIPHANT, MRS. A. D.....	Greenville, S. C.
OSMAN, JOHN.....	Clinton, S. C.
<i>Field Secretary, Presbyterian College</i>	
PATTON, JAMES W.....	Spartanburg, S. C.
<i>Professor of History, Converse College</i>	
PEARLSTINE HANNA.....	Columbia, S. C.
<i>Columbia High School</i>	
PRIOR, G. T.....	Charleston, S. C.
<i>Assistant Professor of History, The Citadel</i>	
REYNOLDS, JULIA R.....	Sumter, S. C.
<i>Sumter High School</i>	
SHERRILL, GEORGE R.....	Clemson College, S. C.
<i>Professor of Government and Economics, Clemson College</i>	
SISSON, CHARLES N.....	Hartsville, S. C.
<i>Professor of History, Coker College</i>	
SKIPPER, O. C.....	Charleston, S. C.
<i>Assistant Professor of History, The Citadel</i>	
STONE, RICHARD G.....	Spartanburg, S. C.
<i>Associate Professor of History, Converse College</i>	

*STRATTON, JOHN PAUL.....	Augusta, Ga.
SURLES, FLORA B.....	Columbia, S. C.
<i>Supervisor, WPA State-wide Historical Project</i>	
TAYLOR, MARY.....	Charleston, S. C.
<i>Memminger High School</i>	
TAYLOR, ROSSER H.....	Greenville, S. C.
<i>Professor of History, Furman University</i>	
THOMPSON, WADDY.....	Atlanta, Ga.
TILGHMAN, MRS. H. L.....	Marion, S. C.
VANDIVER, MRS. LOUISE AYER.....	Brooklyn, N. Y.
VARN, SALLIE.....	Greenville, S. C.
<i>Greenville High School</i>	
WALLACE, D. D.....	Spartanburg, S. C.
<i>Professor of History, Wofford College</i>	
WATSON, HARRY L.....	Greenwood, S. C.
<i>Editor, Index-Journal</i>	
WEBBER, MABEL L.....	Charleston, S. C.
<i>Secretary, South Carolina Historical Society</i>	
WHITE, FANNIE BELLE.....	Columbia, S. C.
<i>Columbia High School</i>	
WICKWARE, MRS. RUTH WINN.....	Washington, D. C.
WIENEFELD, R. H.....	Columbia, S. C.
<i>Associate Professor of History, University of South Carolina</i>	
WILLIAMS, MRS. RICHARD.....	Greenwood, S. C.
<i>Professor of History, Lander College</i>	
WILLIAMS, S. J.....	Charleston, S. C.
<i>Professor of History, The Citadel</i>	
WILLSON, MRS. W. J.....	Reidville, S. C.

*Deceased December 3, 1936.

NEARLY A CENTURY OF ACHIEVEMENT IN SERVICE AND QUALITY



THE R. L. BRYAN COMPANY

*Printing, Binding, Ruling, Engraving
and Steel Die Embossing*

OFFICE FURNITURE
AND SUPPLIES

The Best in Books

DeLuxe Stationery, Fountain Pens, Automatic Pencils

Kodaks and Films, Inks, Pads, Desk Sets

Brief Cases, Leather Writing Cases

Beautiful Imported and Domestic Gift Novelties, Pottery

Birthday and Friendship Cards



1440 MAIN STREET

COLUMBIA, S. C.

OUR BOOK STORE IS ONE OF THE OLDEST IN THE SOUTH
